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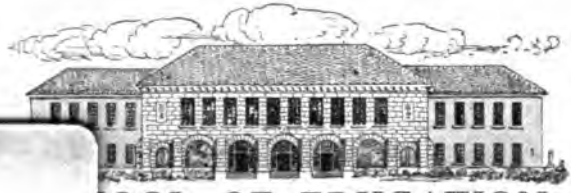
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SOCIAL ASPECTS OF EDUCATION



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SOCIAL ASPECTS
OF
EDUCATION

A BOOK OF
SOURCES AND ORIGINAL DISCUSSIONS
WITH
ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHIES

BY
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PREFACE

PROBABLY no student of education questions the desirability of devoting some attention to the social phases of that subject in a well-rounded teachers' training course. In fact, such would seem to be the logical outcome of the recognition of educational activities as aspects of social activity and as bearing some important relation to social progress. Moreover, the processes of learning in the individual are conditioned to a large extent by the social environment both within and without the school, and this would seem to warrant approaching educational psychology, in part at least, from the point of view of social psychology. Furthermore, there is a growing recognition that the end of education, state it how we may, must for one thing take account of the fact that the child is, and probably will continue to be, a member of society, and that his efficiency as an individual will almost inevitably be measured by social standards of some sort. Manifestly the teacher should have a sympathetic and thoroughly practical insight into these social factors, conditions and relationships, if he is to be a master of his craft.

But, while all these things may be admitted to be true, there are doubtless many that feel an uncertainty as to how to instruct the would-be teacher profitably along these lines. The facts and relationships of social education have not yet been brought together in any comprehensive way. There is much excellent material scattered through many magazines and journals, but it needs to be organized and evaluated. Several very suggestive books have recently appeared dealing with limited portions of the field, but there is as yet no generally recognized statement of the problems and the content of a course in social education which is really scientific, that is, which is more than a mass of mere empirical details. If any body of fact is to have serious consideration in the scholastic field, it must have fairly definite and well-recognized principles of organization. Thus, while

the social implications of education are evident enough, most of the work offered teachers in their professional courses has been relatively individualistic. In educational psychology, for instance, the development of the mental process is described as if it took place largely within a social vacuum. The history of education is clearly an account of events that have been selected from the general history of social development, and yet in teaching the subject there is usually all too little emphasis laid upon the connection between the successive events in educational history and the social matrix from which these events inevitably sprang. In the same way the problems of superintendence and administration are at bottom essentially social problems, but they are not usually presented in the light of this their broader setting.

With reference to this state of affairs, two things might be done with profit. First of all, in the presentation of these standard educational subjects there should be a juster recognition of important social relationships. With classes in educational psychology it is possible to introduce the social element in quite an organic and satisfactory manner, and the students thereby get a better balanced notion of the conditions of mental development. The other professional courses could be socialized in like manner, not through the tacking on of any adventitious material, but through the introduction into them of facts which properly belong there and which have been ignored because of narrow traditional views of the subjects.

Over and above all this, however, there should be a *specific* course or courses in the social aspects of education. The subject of the social relations and implications of education is so large and so vital that it requires separate treatment. Such a course should give a comprehensive and stimulating, as well as practical, survey of educational activities from the point of view of their internal and external social relationships.

In general, the object of the course here outlined is to secure to the student a broad and suggestive view of education in its more evident social relationships and more specifically with reference to its relations to social progress. This latter point is considered the problem of the course, and it is stated thus: First, to what extent may educational forces be regarded as definite avenues of social progress; and, secondly, to what extent may certain educational forces, the school

in particular, become more efficient as agencies of instruction as well as more effective promoters of social progress through a recognition of their broader social relationships and their internal character as social groups? In other words, there are two sets of relations to take into account, those of the school to society at large, and those within the school itself as a social microcosm. The assumption is that a more intelligent appreciation of both these social aspects will render educational forces more efficient for progress.

The course is divided into two parts. In the first we take up the broader social relations of the various educational forces. This affords a concrete beginning which is fairly comprehensible to all students. The second part of the course deals with the internal relations of the school as a social group, their bearing upon the life of the school in general and upon the learning activity in particular. In this section, also, is included a study of personality, in so far as it seems to be socially determined.

The sequence of topics in this outline is not rigidly logical. It is merely a working scheme which experience has found adapted to the needs of the student who has done some little work in education and who yet must be appealed to by the concrete rather than the philosophical aspects of the subject. Nor is the selection of topics offered regarded as complete. In fact, they have been somewhat arbitrarily chosen. In my original scheme I proposed to include source materials and discussions on such topics as vacation schools, night and continuation schools, the feeding of school children and medical inspection. These lines of work are all current aspects of the larger view of the meaning and scope of education in its relation to social welfare. These and other topics will suggest themselves as worth taking up in connection with what is given here. It is, in fact, hoped that this volume will be regarded and used *merely as an introduction* and guide to the further study of a body of facts far too extensive to be adequately covered in any single volume.

In the selection of materials to be reprinted, it was my aim to secure papers of two kinds: on the one hand, those which clearly discussed underlying principles; on the other, those which presented various concrete phases and applications. It is hoped that this will be found a desirable and usable combination.

The originals of most of the reprinted papers are easily accessible. It is thought, however, that by bringing them together in this way, with appropriate introductions and summaries, that they may acquire a meaning and a unity which they would not have if taken alone. A cumulative effect is here possible which would be lost altogether if the student were obliged to look them up separately in different places. It is hoped also that the fuller meanings thus brought to light will stimulate the student to a more extended acquaintance with the books from which these extracts are taken.

I wish to thank the publishers and the various authors mentioned herein who have so generously permitted the reprinting of materials, much of which is copyrighted. Special mention should be made of Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons, The University of Chicago Press, The Charities Publication Committee, The School Review, The Century Company, The Macmillan Company, Ginn and Company, and The Public School Publishing Company. I am also under especial obligations to a number of individuals for assistance in the selection and preparation of my material, particularly to Mr. John A. Stevenson of the University of Wisconsin for enthusiastic and efficient help in many ways, and specifically in the annotation of parts of the bibliographies.

Finally, I hope those who may use this book will be frank and free in offering any suggestions or criticisms which occur to them. I am far from regarding it as final in form or in content.

IRVING KING.

THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA,
IOWA CITY, November 1, 1911.

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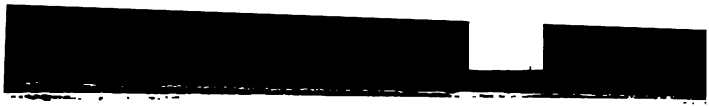
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ABBREVIATIONS

A. A. A.	Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.
Am. Ed.	American Education.
Am. Jour. Soc. . .	American Journal of Sociology.
Am. S. B. Jour. .	American School Board Journal.
Bul. U. S. Bur. Ed.	Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Education.
Charities	Charities and the Commons.
Chaut.	Chautauquan.
Ed.	Education.
Ed. Rev.	Educational Review.
El. S. T.	Elementary School Teacher.
Ind.	Independent.
Int. Jour. Eth. . .	International Journal of Ethics.
Man. Tr. Mag. . .	Manual Training Magazine.
N. C. C. C. . . .	National Conference of Charities and Corrections.
N. E. A.	Report of the National Educational Association.
N. E. Mag. . . .	New England Magazine.
N. S. S. E. . . .	National Society for the Study of Education.
Ped. S.	Pedagogical Seminary.
Pop. Sc. M. . . .	Popular Science Monthly.
S. Rev.	School Review.
W. W.	World's Work.



SOCIAL ASPECTS OF EDUCATION

PART I

EXTERNAL SOCIAL RELATIONS OF EDUCATION

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE SOCIAL VIEW OF EDUCATION

It is the purpose of this Source Book to introduce the student to some of the more important social relations and social meanings of present-day education. The development of the modern sciences of sociology and social psychology have furnished the principles for a broader science of education than that which was possible when psychology was the only pure science upon which educational theory and practice could be built. We are not disposed to question in any degree the importance of psychology for education. Its status is thoroughly established.

Psychology, however, furnishes only a part of the background from which the educational process must be viewed, and from which its governing principles must be worked out. It is true that education presupposes mental activity and mental growth in the learner, and it is important that the trained teacher should know something of the biological and psychological principles involved in these changes. But the teacher cannot afford to limit his view to the individual pupil or to a group of pupils regarded separately. No one can ever live to himself alone. In all sorts of subtle ways each one, in whatever he thinks or does, is influenced by other people. This is true of children in school as well as of adults. Moreover, all educational activities are great social enterprises, and here also are important relationships to take into account in getting a comprehensive view of the process of education.

But it is not only on the side of the principles involved that a social study of education is now desirable. The scope of educational activ-

ity has been immensely broadened in recent years. This has been due not so much to any theoretical recognition of the wider meanings of education, as to the practical necessities which the growing complexities of modern life have thrust upon educational leaders. That these great extensions of educational activity may be studied and valuated, it is necessary for the student of education to be a sociological as well as a psychological expert.

There are three senses in which education is a social process. First of all it is the instrument used by society for conserving its culture and providing efficient men and women for carrying forward and developing still further the work which has to be done. In the second place the school itself is a little social group and the work of instruction can be directed to the best advantage only by those who have a sympathetic understanding of its internal social relationships. In the third place, the process of learning is a social process and needs to be interpreted and controlled by established facts regarding the interaction of mind with mind. In at least three different directions, then, a social viewpoint is needful for a full understanding of the nature and possibilities of present-day education.

It is not suggested that these social phases of education are in any sense modern developments. It is only the recognition of them that belongs to our own day. In every age, from the most primitive to our own, these social relations have characterized society's work of educating its children. They have come to light to-day and have pressed upon us for practical recognition because of the high degree of specialization which has come to pass in education along with other phases of modern life. "There was a time when people were quite ready to define education. It would be rash to do so to-day. The term denotes more than it has for any other age. Neither Plato, Quintilian, nor Locke nor Spencer, nor even Rousseau, faced, much less solved, our present-day problems. Their simple, naïve devices were meant for an earlier time and for a simpler civilization." [1]

In modern communities, moreover, there are in progress manifold and fundamental readjustments. These have been going on and will continue to go on whether as individuals we wish them to or not. Society is larger than any individual, and even though each contributes

[1] Johnston, *Educational Review*, Feb. 1909.

something to the direction of its changes, for practical purposes he is caught in a vast network of activities, the outcome of which he can only vaguely guess. Some of the changes in human conditions wrought by the forces which the modern world has set going seem to be harmful rather than otherwise. Both from the side of the physical, intellectual and moral natures, the individual has suffered and is suffering. We may have abounding faith that there will be adequate compensation of some sort. We may think we see some of the compensations in a general way, but their details are yet only imperfectly worked out. It is because of these conditions of rapid growth and readjustment that we are forced more and more to take into account the social bearings of education. It is manifest to all who have eyes to see that increasingly heavier burdens are being placed on educative agencies and institutions.

In view of these new responsibilities there are many who see in the school a vital force for social progress. Thus John Dewey has said that "The school is a fundamental method of social progress and reform." Ross,[1] "School education in our day is a mighty engine of progress. The teacher has a wider outlook and a freer mind than the average parent." Scott says, "the school at its best is a prophecy, as every embryo is a prophecy, of a better and nobler life."[2]

One of the fundamental problems in the study of the social relations of education is suggested in the above quotations. It is a two-fold problem and it may be abstractly stated thus:

First, — To what extent may educational forces be regarded as definite avenues of social progress?

Second, — To what extent may various educational forces, and the school in particular, become more effective promoters of social progress as well as more efficient agencies of instruction through a recognition of —

(*a*) Their broader social relationships, and

(*b*) Their internal social character?

Neither of these questions should be answered without serious reflection. It is not a foregone conclusion that the schools are really agents of social progress. One who is inclined to take the view that they are agencies for positive betterment should take into account

[1] "Social Psychology," p. 231. [2] "Social Education," p. 2.

the fact that there are many conspicuous failures of the recognized educational forces to obtain satisfactory results. Professor William James said (some years ago) in a public address: "There is not a public abuse on the whole eastern coast which does not receive the enthusiastic approval of some Harvard graduate. Fifty years ago the schools were supposed to free us from crimes and unhappiness, but we do not indulge in such sanguine hopes to any extent to-day. Though education frees us from the more brutal forms of crime, it is true that education itself has put even meaner forms of crime in our way. The intellect is the servant of our passions, and sometimes education only makes the person more adroit in carrying out these impulses." [1] Another great teacher, a professor of ethics, confessed that one of his honor students was later elected to a state legislature and became a "common grafter." These two instances are typical of many current indictments of modern education. It is within the limits of truth to say that many people feel that the school of to-day is very imperfectly meeting its increased responsibilities. President Eliot says that the intelligence produced by our schools is ineffective and not worth the money spent. Other thoughtful students of the times have offered even severer indictments of current education.

This is not to be taken to mean that our schools are less efficient absolutely than those of past generations, but rather that they are relatively less able to cope with the demands of their age. If it could be possible to transfer them to the social conditions of even a generation ago we have reason to think they would prove superior to the schools of that day in meeting the demands made upon them. But even so recently as the past generation, much of the work now being loaded upon the school was performed by other institutions. Moreover, in that day, with a less crowded population and cheaper living, the problem and the need of the schools' taking up various specialized types of education, such as industrial and vocational, did not present itself. The need of medical inspection and other efforts to protect the health of school children was not only not appreciated but also was largely nonexistent. Neither was there the need for playgrounds, school gardens, vocational direction and a host of other phases of current education. At least, these needs were met in other

[1] Quoted by C. A. Ellwood, *School Review*, 15: 544.

ways. Although we are facing radically different conditions to-day, many people are slow to see that the traditional activities of the school are in any wise affected. However, as has been well pointed out, the "distribution of educative power among the social institutions is by no means a fixed division of burdens, set once and for all, by tradition or reason. The needs of society lay their heavy demands now upon one agent, now upon another, and in shifting currents of social progress some institutions, once powerful, are left weakened, if not helpless, while other institutions wax strong to meet the demands of the time. The homes of the urban industrial classes have not the moral influence over children exercised by the family life of the farmer; the church grips fewer members with its theological doctrines than it did a century ago; the trades do less for their apprentices in the modern factory than they did when lodged in the household; the press has more influence; libraries are more plentiful; and the school has grown to be a modern giant where it was once a puny babe. The same old institutional forces beat upon the nervous systems of men, but the relative distribution of their work has changed and is changing.

"In all these variations of influence, one striking tendency stands out clearly: as the agencies for incidental and informal education become incapable of training men for their complex environment, society, becoming increasingly self-conscious, gathers up the neglected functions and assigns them to the school. As church and family life ceases to keep pace with the moral demands of our intricate social life, the problem of moral education becomes conspicuous in the schools. As the work and play of the children under the conditions of city life become restricted so as to deprive them of robust physical activities in the fresh air and sunshine, the school is called upon to combat the danger with systematic physical training. As factory and shop employment becomes specialized and scientific, and the system of apprenticeship fails to make good workmen, the obligation to train efficient employees is thrust upon the schools." [1]

[1] Snedden, *The Problem of Vocational Education*, from the Introduction.

CHAPTER II

THE SOCIAL ORIGIN OF EDUCATIVE AGENCIES

The Education of the Pueblo Child

WE have seen how the quite general reluctance of primitive people to permit innovations, doubtless due in part to mental feebleness and inertia, but in a larger measure to superstitious beliefs, has become so intensified in the minds of the Pueblos that any deviation from the ways of their ancestors is regarded as a sacrilege deserving the displeasure of both gods and men. It remains for us to examine the educational method which enables them to conserve the ancient wisdom as exemplified in their religious lore, manners, customs, industries and art, and to hand it down without material change from generation to generation.

It will readily be seen that something more than mere spontaneous imitation is necessary to accomplish this result. For the purpose of this investigation it is convenient to consider their education under three aspects; namely, industrial, moral and religious education. It must, however, be admitted that no definite lines of cleavage can be found between these divisions, since all acts are to the Pueblo religious, even to the minutest details of his everyday life. It is only when the immediateness of aim is considered, such as preservation of life or bodily comfort, that distinctions can be drawn between religious and industrial pursuits. Thus the planting of corn, although to the Pueblo a religious function, has for its immediate aim the procuring of food for sustaining life.

Imitation, taken in its broader sense, is the largest factor in both their industrial and religious training, but it is not to a very large extent, except in the earlier years of the child, a spontaneous or free imitation. Although it is true that spontaneous imitation enters very largely into the education of most uncivilized races, the most important factor in the education of the Pueblo is an imitation which is not spontaneous, but is brought about by external constraint. It is the key to Pueblo education, as the Pueblos are the key to the whole civilization of the southwest. It is with this non-spontaneous imitative phase of education, which investigators of primitive life, and educators as well, have

generally overlooked, that this discussion is chiefly concerned. The aspect of modern education, with which this primitive education is most nearly comparable, is the apprentice system — a system which still largely persists in every industry of rural communities and the more mechanical pursuits in all communities. The form in which it is found among the Pueblos is quite characteristic of this stage of civilization, and as it is more primitive in its nature than the method generally comprehended under this term, it may not be incorrect to designate it as a pre-apprentice method. The discussion of this method and its effects upon the life and character of the Pueblos is reserved to the close of this chapter, in order that it may be studied in the light of the actual facts of their education.

Industrial Training. — In the earlier years of the Pueblo boy or girl a large measure of freedom is given, and owing to the lingering savage ideas and phlegmatic nature of the barbarian, many acts of seeming wantonness or cruelty of the children go entirely unrebuked by their elders. This is sometimes taken as an indication that their children are entirely uncontrolled, but such is not the case. Indeed, just the opposite is true. The Pueblos love their children and look after their training carefully. Like the plays of children everywhere, those of the Pueblo children are symbolical; spontaneous imitation of the more serious work of their elders prevails and is truly educational, as it prepares the way for the later life into which they are to enter. But very early, even the plays, unconsciously to the children, are directed by their parents. Thus, the dolls with which the child plays are representations of their deities, so that the child early learns to recognize many of his gods. But, unlike the civilized child, the Indian does not grow out of the delusion of a personality in these masked dolls; it even grows stronger with age.

The principal occupations of the Pueblos, such as agriculture, hunting, pottery and implement making, weaving and building, are all imitated in the plays of the children; at first very rudely, of course, but later with considerable fidelity, for imitation has become almost instinctive with the Pueblos. They are tacitly encouraged in these plays by their elders, who provide those things which the child nature calls for when beyond the stage in which the bent stick suffices for a bow and the twig for the arrow, and when his plays become less purely symbolical. Thus, the Indian boy is provided with a bow and arrows and becomes a hunter, a battle-ax and becomes a warrior, or he is given a plat of ground where he constructs miniature acequias and tills the soil or herds his flocks. With a few stones and some adobe he constructs miniature imitations of those buildings which have been the wonder of the ethnologist, or he may become a weaver, an arrow maker or a skin dresser. Very early, indeed, he will be expected to

take an active part in the simpler of these occupations, for the Pueblo children are taught to work as soon as they can be of the least assistance. Likewise, the little girl imitates in her plays those occupations which fall to the woman's lot among the Pueblos; maternal duties, household cares, bearing of burdens, as well as the more skillful occupation of pottery making, basket and cloth weaving, bead and shell work, — all find a place in her spontaneous activities. Like her brother, also, she is very early required to begin her life work. Little girls of five and six assist in caring for the younger children, carry water and wood and even help to prepare the clay for the pottery and the material for the basket weaving. As the children grow older they gradually take a larger share in all the occupations common to the Pueblos.

Specialization does not figure prominently in this stage of development. The labor of one is generally the labor of all; yet there are individuals who, having reached a greater degree of skill, practically monopolize certain kinds of work, such as silver, shell or stone working, or making a given kind of pottery or basket or the working of ornamental designs on ceremonial apparel. Thus certain individuals gain a reputation as experts, and the demand for their particular ware becomes so great that they are permitted to give up other occupations and devote their time exclusively to their specialties. The children of these specialists are quite likely to be taught the secrets of the trade or workmanship of their parents, and so some occupations remain in the hands of certain families. It is the embryological stage of specialization. But whatever the occupation, or whatever the skill attained, the method of instruction is the same. The boys are apprentices of the men and the girls of the women of their immediate relatives, and they follow the pedagogical maxim of "Learn to do by doing" to its logical outcome. The theoretical or inventive field remains an unknown land. The learner has placed before him a model which he endeavors to reproduce exactly. No time or material is wasted in attempting to improve upon the model, rude though it be. The one desideratum is the acquirement of a certain amount of dexterity or skill in doing just the things his ancestors have done century after century before him. Indeed, in all their occupations requiring skill, such as building, weaving, basket and pottery making, the forms have become so conventionalized by their beliefs that a religious sanction is placed upon them, which it would be a serious desecration to disregard. That the method is not without its advantages is attested by its almost universal prevalence among primitive people, and its survival in modified forms in enlightened nations. It assures the conservation of the learning and occupations of the past, a standard to which all must rise, a stable condition of society, a freedom from innovations which may disturb the social or industrial order, and, barring external con-

ditions, a national longevity and the transmission, unchanged, of all the lore of the ancients.

Moral and Religious Training. — The moral education of the Pueblo differs materially from that which we have in our own civilization. In some respects he would not suffer by comparison. The implicit obedience of children, their marked respect for their elders, the kindness of parents to children, their natural helpfulness, generous hospitality, forbearance and industry, are all marked characteristics of this people.

In the wildest, roughest plays of the children, or in the most intensely exciting games of adults, no Pueblo will angrily strike another. It would be beneath his dignity. The child who would disdain the counsel of his parents or refuse to obey unquestioningly their commands would be looked upon with horror; yet no harsh means are used in attaining this result. For him a better way has been found.

The Pueblo child does not receive commands to do or refrain from doing without the reason for the command being given. This reason is given in the form of a story in which the given action is portrayed with the good or evil resulting to the doer. These legends or folk tales are very numerous, so that one may be found to illustrate almost any case that may arise.

The effectiveness of these tales depends upon the superstitious fear which is marked among even the children of the Pueblos. The circumstances under which these tales are generally told lends force or impressiveness to the lessons they contain. The grandfathers of the village are the story-tellers, the primitive schoolmasters and historians of the tribe. The evening when the fires burn low and the close room is but dimly lighted is the favorite time for the repeating of these tales, and the solemn half chant in which they are told, together with the striking gestures accompanying them, give them a weirdly dramatic effect.

They exercise a profound influence on the conduct of the children, and the moral laws they prescribe are seldom transgressed. Another custom of the Pueblos tending toward the same end is a dance expressly to frighten the children into strict obedience. The custom is thus described as it is practiced at Zuñi: "The Zuñi have an annual dance expressly to frighten the children and keep them in good behavior during the rest of the year. Characters even more horrible than those with the buffalo horns are the chief actors. They represent fearful goblins who come to devour and carry away the children. They make the rounds of all the houses in the town, and at their approach the parents conceal their little ones, pretending to frighten the demons off and desperately defend their offspring.

"This makes a lasting impression on the children, and the mention of these creatures henceforth has a quieting effect. Formerly the Zuñi had a dance which took place once in thirty years. The ceremonies

required the sacrifice of one child. For the victim the worst child in the village was selected. The mention of the festival was apt to produce good behavior in any child."

The virtues which the Pueblo father or mother seeks to inculcate are obedience, industry, modesty, and especially the avoidance of evil sorcery of all kinds, which to them is the acme of depravity, and they secure it almost wholly through an appeal to superstitious fear.

Religious Training.—The education of the Pueblos which most nearly corresponds to that given by the schools in civilized countries is their religious education. This reaches into the minutest details of their lives, which are one incessant round of formulary observances. The acquiring of their very elaborate ritual, which must be exactly transmitted and exactly used in order to be efficacious, is an educational task of no small proportions. Here again the instinctive imitativeness of the Indian proves very useful. The child is surrounded from his earliest years with rites and ceremonies which he soon begins to imitate, and to the end of his life, be it ever so long, he will continue a learner in this field.

At the age of about four or five years the boys, and sometimes the girls, are initiated into a secret society which practically includes the whole village. These initiations differ in detail among the various pueblos, but are essentially similar. It is through these initiations that the child becomes a rightful member of the pueblo, shares in the communal rights and privileges and is placed under the protection of the tribal gods. To the primitive mind these initiatory ceremonies are so necessary, so sacred and impressive, that all their features are indelibly stamped in memory. Taken in connection with the elaborate rites and ceremonies which must later be learned, they form the larger part of their purposeful education. The initiation into the Ka-ka, as it is practiced at Zuñi, is described by Mrs. M. E. Stevenson in her article on the religious life of the Zuñi child.[1] The substance of her description is as follows: After eight days of preparation, during which prayers are said, sacrifices made, wood brought from the mesas, paints and ceremonial vestments prepared, nightly rehearsals made and many dances and ceremonials of the elders performed, the actual initiation of the child begins. The ceremony is begun about the time of the setting of the sun, by the priest of the sun sprinkling a line of sacred prayer meal about the village, marking (with the meal) the position of the priests, who take their places as indicated. The godfathers then pass along the line of meal, each one holding his godchild on his back by a blanket which he draws tightly around him, and as he passes the line of priests each one strikes the child a severe blow with a bunch of Spanish bayonets. The Indian, from infancy, looks upon the exhibition

[1] *Bureau of Ethnology Report*, Vol. V.

of feeling when undergoing physical pain as a sign of weakness, yet so severe are these blows that they force tears from the eyes of the children, but no cry is heard. After this test the godfathers take the children to the Kiva of the North, where plumes are selected and placed in the scalp locks of the boys. A medicine priest then gives each godfather and his ward a drink of the holy water which is kept in the sacred vessels. While they drink, prayer is said by the godparents and repeated by the boys. They then return to the plaza, where the children undergo a second trial. Each child kneels and clasps the bent knee of his guardian, who draws him still closer with his blanket around him. Four priests appear, and first having tested the thickness of the child's clothing, each strikes him across the back with the yucca blade. This concludes the first part of the ceremony.

The second part takes place during the night in the Kivas, the boy sitting on a ledge between the knees of his sponsor. When all have taken their places, the priest of the North arises and taking a wand walks over to the first boy, and holding the wand toward the mouth of the boy, he breathes upon it four times, the child drawing from it each time the sacred breath passing from the mouth of the priest over the sacred plume. This ceremony is performed for each boy and by each of the priests of the West, South, East, Zenith and Nadir in turn. The Kolowitsi, the plumed serpent, now appears at the entrance above. The high priest, the war priest and the priestess of the earth advance to meet the serpent, each carrying a large earthen bowl to catch the sacred water poured from its mouth. Each guardian fills a small bowl with the water, and drinking a portion of it gives the remainder to the boy to drink. After the water is exhausted, a blanket is held to catch the seeds of all the cereals poured from the mouth of the serpent. These are taken by the priest and distributed to all present. This done, the boys return to their homes.

Early the next morning each boy is taken by his godfather and led to a point eastward some distance from the village, each sprinkling a line of sacred meal. A prayer is said which is repeated by the boy, after which the godfather, making a hole in the ground, plants a prayer plume. From this time the boy eats no animal food for four days, and the plume which was placed in the boy's hair during the ceremony is not removed until the fourth morning after the planting of the plumes, when he again goes over the road with his guardian, who deposits the plume from the boy's head with a prayer, which is repeated by the child.

After this first initiation he is allowed several years to decide when he will take the vows made for him at this time by his godfather. But the most important initiation to the youth of the pueblo is that which takes place at the period of adolescence, when they are accepted as complete or "finished" members of the village community.

This ceremony, so general among primitive races, coming as it does at that period of life when ideas and ideals change, when sacrifices and ordeals are welcomed, and when profound impressions may readily be produced, marks an epoch in savage and barbarous life, the importance of which it is difficult to overestimate. The almost entire lack of any counterpart of this ceremony in modern public education leaves unused a field which is not unworthy of attention. It is at this period that the boy enters a higher and more exclusive order of the priesthood, and every male of good standing in the community is usually a member of one or more of these secret societies.

The ceremony at Walpi, a Hopi village, and one of the most primitive, is as follows: The initiation takes place when there are enough candidates, or about once in four years, during the November moon. In former times, when the number of inhabitants was greater, it took place annually. The actual initiation requires nine days, and is preceded by several days of preparation, which includes making of paraphernalia, bringing wood, preparing the altars in the Kivas, songs, prayers and rehearsals.

Just at sundown of the first day the novices are brought to the Kiva, naked, save for the scant white kilt fastened around the loins, and with the hair hanging loosely about the shoulders. Before stepping on the hatchway leading down into the Kiva, the blankets and moccasins must be removed, as it would be a sacrilege to enter its sacred precincts with these garments on. The boys are carried into the Kiva, each holding a handful of sacred meal which he throws on the fire, which has been kindled for the ceremony by the ancient fire drill, and so is the sacred fire of the gods. The novices are huddled together on an upraised partition of the chamber, while their bodies are rubbed with a yellow pigment. A black stripe is made around the legs below the knees, and two vertical black lines are painted on each cheek. From this time the novices, or Keles as they are called, are not allowed to eat or drink for four days. Just at midnight a sacred dance is performed, and at sunrise on the following morning the boys are escorted, each carrying a deer's horn, to the plaza to witness a curious sidewise, shuffling dance, accompanied by stentorian singing. The Keles, still naked, although the November air is quite crisp in this highland region, must give respectful attention to the whole ceremony. At the close of the dance, they are taken back to the Kiva. Frequent alarums, patrols and excursions are kept up throughout this day to the surrounding Mesas.

From this time the Keles are not allowed to see the sun until the end of the ceremony. Just after noon, the boys, blindfolded, and forming a chain, by each one clinging to the blanket of the preceding one, are conducted by the priests to a distant portion of the village, where

prayers are said. Returning, they are instructed in the songs and dances, this training continuing at intervals throughout the initiatory ceremony. On the third morning at sunrise they are taken again to witness the shuffling dance in the plaza. This time each novice carries an ear of corn as the symbol of fertility, and during the performance of this ceremony they are seated and kept perfectly quiet. Late in the afternoon of this day they are dressed like women, in the oldest, most ragged clothing which can be found; each carrying a burden of some kind, as a bundle of fuel, a loaded basket or a cradle, and, in this garb, dance the side-step around the whole village.

Each day the ceremony becomes more secret and mysterious. In the evening of this day messengers are sent along all the trails leading to the village to warn all strangers against approaching the village, by sprinkling a line of prayer meal across each trail. The songs, dances and prayers are continued throughout the night, and on the fourth morning sentinels are posted along all the trails at a distance from the village. At sunrise the same shuffling dance is performed, but instead of returning to the Kiva they pass in single file far out upon the plain to a mountain fifteen miles to the southward. This time they are arrayed in the finest raiment and make the most lavish display of jewelry and other finery which the village affords. They do not return from this journey until after dark. While at the mountain they dig mobi to use in a purifying process, and a white clay to be used in decorating their bodies. Before entering the Kiva on their return, they dance four times around the village, although it must be remembered the boys have eaten nothing for four days. On this night every house in the village is kept dark. Patrols pace the streets, making a terrific noise, with bells, shells, cans and drums. Two of the priest societies walk the streets in companies, and, as the night wanes, they gradually increase their pace until, at the time when the Pleiades reach the zenith, they are rushing around the village at a furious run. This is kept up until Orion is in the same position as on the preceding night when the priests finished their song. About an hour before sunrise the priests of these two societies march to the roof of one of the Kivas; there, standing closely wrapped in their blankets, they sing fine and solemn hymns. An hour after sunrise a fine feast is spread, at which the Keles are first permitted to break their long fast. The exertions which they have undergone constitute, throughout, a terrible ordeal. Through the sixth, seventh and eighth days the priests continue regularly to instruct the Keles, while the different societies dance in the Kiva and plaza, at intervals through the day. During the last days the Keles bear the impression of the sun painted on their backs. The whole ceremony is concluded by processions, dances, songs and long prayers to the gods to aid the boys in walking in " the straight path "

of Hopi morality. The Hopi Indians have an initiatory ceremony for the maidens, which in some respects resembles the one just described.

Ordeals and the learning of intricate rites and ceremonies, together with the body of lore which is the property of a given society, characterize all initiations.

The initiations are for the purpose of finishing the boy, as the Pueblos express it, but, like our commencements, they are generally the beginning of a life of hardship, of penance and self-mortification, and as the priests are the conservers of the lore of this people, in order that it be free from error and variation, great care must be exercised in transmitting it from the priests to the novices.

The songs, prayers, dances and other rites must be exact, even to the slightest details, in order to be efficacious, and it follows that, in order to learn them in this precise way, years of practice are necessary. The Kivas thus become their schoolhouses as well as their temples. To the Pueblo none of these rites or ceremonies are meaningless. Each one has its origin in the teaching of some god or culture hero, or are the dramatization of some important event related in their traditions.

The Pueblos generally believe in these traditions as they believe in their own existence, and careful students quite generally concede that most, if not all, of these tales have some foundation in fact, which the Indian has clothed in the fanciful garb which his superstition has placed around them, and the uncertainty of the distant past has so intensified the glamour that it is almost impossible to separate fact from fiction. The Indian explains all phenomena in his own way; the problems of life and death, together with the phenomena of nature, have not escaped him, and he has an explanation for each which completely satisfies him.

The Pueblos had at the time of their discovery reached that stage in which most of the great body of lore had passed slowly but surely into the hands of the priesthood, and the religious instruction of the youth had been given almost entirely over to his care.

It is important to note here that the method of instruction is the same in the industrial, moral and religious spheres — a method which aims at an exact reproduction of the skill or wisdom in the possession of the tribe by generation after generation. The ideal attainment does not go beyond the wisdom of their fathers. The method has been dwelt on at some length in the industrial sphere, and what was stated of it there holds true in the learning of religious lore, rites or ceremonies. The model is brought before the pupil, and he is expected by repeated trials to reproduce it exactly. Thus, if a song or tale is to be learned, there are no explanations. The song is sung or the tale recited by the master priest, and the pupil learns it by repeating it again and again,

learning not alone the words or melody, but the exact intonation, gestures and bearing of the master.

Of the two great forces which have lifted humanity to the present plane of civilization — imitation and invention — the latter has been almost wholly suppressed by the Pueblos. By imitation, as used here, is meant the conscious or unconscious repetition by one individual of the acts of another, while invention includes any intentional variation from the old typical form.

The method of obtaining this result has been designated the apprentice method, since it very nearly approaches that method as it is practiced in the civilized world. It has its basis in imitation and habit, and has its value in the possibility of attaining given results with the least expenditure of energy, time or waste of material. The notion of the apprentice method, as here used, embraces the conception of a master in possession of the skill, information or end to be attained, an unskilled or uninformed pupil or novice, and the transmission of the skill or knowledge, unchanged, from the master to the pupil. But in order that the method be efficacious, some force must act to impel the pupil or apprentice persistently to strive toward the end to be attained. Without this force the method would lose its value, for, as a rule, natural interest languishes long before the necessary perfection is reached. The apprentice, left to himself, is usually satisfied with a very inferior grade of work, and falls far short of his ideal.

It is in this reënforcement that the system, as applied among the Pueblos, differs most widely from that found in more highly civilized communities. In the latter state the necessary persistency of effort is brought about by the master or parent, who, when natural interest flags and the task has become irksome, brings to bear the power of authority in moral suasion or physical force.

This condition quite generally obtains in rural communities where all the homely occupations are learned by this method. The boy imitates the work of his father, and the girl in the same way learns the household duties by imitating the model placed before her by her mother. The end to be attained in both cases is the same, the exact reproduction of the knowledge or skill of the parents. Variation has no place in this scheme of education, for the children are not supposed to make any advance beyond the attainments of their parents. This method, however, is not confined to the rural communities, but is used everywhere in all those trades or arts which are learned by what is called "the rule of thumb."

The advantages of the system are obvious. As there is no experimentation, no time, energy or materials are wasted. It is based upon imitation, which generates habit, and habit once fixed, all subsequent actions become easier and more skillful, and, hence, the amount of work the individual is able to accomplish is greatly increased. But

praise of the system is but an extolling of the advantages of habit in industry — a factor without which progress is impossible, yet without invention it may and does produce stagnation.

Educators are beginning to recognize that stress placed upon any stage of mental development may result in arresting the mind at that stage. This is true of all periods, and for the most part is based upon the fixing power of habit. Brain paths or mental paths once formed are difficult to obliterate or change, and education must ever guard against overhabituation in narrow lines, if the highest progress of the individual is to be promoted. This is the great defect of the apprentice system. Valuable as it is for the mere artisan, something more is needed for those who would become creators or originators.

The apprentice method for this reason must ever be opposed to continued progress, and the nation or people having recourse to it alone will sooner or later be brought to a standstill, even when there are no other forces acting to bring this about.

This is the condition which is found to exist among the Pueblos. The method of instruction is not unlike that just described; but the agency which acts to reënforce a naturally conservative method of education is their religion, which has become a most powerful force, impelling the Pueblo to attain the wisdom and skill of his fathers and restraining him from any deviation from it.

Ancestor worship or ancientism, which is such a large factor in their religion, has turned their faces to the past and led them to attach a special sanctity to whatever is old. Thus, all their art having become conventionalized and all their occupations having been taught to them by their gods or demigod culture heroes, any deviation from the ancient way becomes sacrilegious.

The Pueblo father trains his son to follow in his footsteps in all his occupations and superstitions; fear restrains him from departing from them. What is true of industry and art is more profoundly true in the transmission of religious forms and beliefs, for here a special sanctity lends force to the prevailing method. It is only natural that superstitious fear should appeal more strongly here, for the attention of both novice and priest is fixed immediately upon the object of their fear. In all cases it has been sufficiently strong to arrest development. It has led them constantly to attain a given stage of culture, and then has held them at this level. Without the method religion could not perpetuate its sanctioned forms, and the method without the powerful reënforcement of religious fear would not be so efficient a conservator of past achievements. By acting together there can be seemingly but one result — arrested development.

From *The Education of the Pueblo Child*. Frank Spencer. Courtesy of The Macmillan Company.

The Social Nature of Education as seen in Primitive Life

The efforts of present-day savage and barbarous peoples to instruct their children throw interesting light upon the social nature and social relations of educational agencies. In these early and relatively simple stages of social development, the school does not exist as a separate institution. The entire social group is more or less actively interested in the training of the children. After the school has been set off, or institutionalized, this social connection is not always so clear. It is probably true, however, and a study of primitive education helps us to see it, that in complex as well as in simple societies all types of educational activity are responses to some more or less genuine social needs. In primitive society, especially, it would be impossible for a tribe to survive long if the education afforded its children were widely divergent from the needs of the life process. In some way they must learn to use the implements of the hunt and of warfare. They must learn those lessons of tribal custom and religion which will insure the stability and solidarity of the group. If the simple arts of a barbaric society were not in some way preserved in each new generation, that society would soon drop back to the level of brute life. Some form of education, then, however crude and haphazard, either conscious or unconscious, is necessary even for unprogressive peoples, that at least the existing level of culture may be retained.

The beginnings of human education were, in fact, probably quite unconscious. The social groups and the races which survived in the hard struggle for life were the ones which little by little had acquired the ability to preserve the results of their experiences and pass them on to succeeding generations. This ability may have been fostered and developed by natural selection. The societies that did not in some way preserve from generation to generation the little culture they possessed, simply did not survive. The first education was in all likelihood little more than an extension of the imitation which possibly exists to some extent among the lower animals. It is a disputed point as to whether animals imitate or not. It seems not unlikely, however, that the deliverances of instinct are sometimes and to some extent supplemented by a little imitation on the part of the young. The human being was, at the first, just slightly more imitative than

the animals. It was, then, first of all in the course of purely informal imitative contact with the rest of the group that the child became versed in the attainments of his elders.

Familiar social intercourse within the family and neighborhood was not only the first channel of education; it has continued in all ages and in all stages of culture to be one of its most important means. The more formal means have been but differentiations out of this broad matrix of social intercourse. This latter gives the setting, the background, and determines the relationships of the formal agencies. It fills in the interstices and makes up the deficiencies of these latter.

As long as culture is quite simple, and as long as every community in its life and industries illustrates practically all the elements of this culture, education through imitation and familiar social intercourse is fairly adequate. That is, the great bulk of what the community knows can be acquired by just living in it day by day. However, there are nearly always some few things to be done which require a certain amount of skill that cannot be acquired unless there is a little conscious direction of the learner — such as the use of the bow and arrow and other primitive weapons or the simple arts of pottery and weaving. Then, there are certain customs and religious beliefs that cannot be left entirely to informal social intercourse. Formal educational activities grow up about these special skills and customs and beliefs which seem too important to be left to chance. Formal education neither in the beginning, nor ever, for that matter, has been concerned with the transmission of all of social culture, but only with certain fragments, more or less arbitrarily selected. It has always been necessary, as suggested above, to depend upon informal agencies to fill in the gaps and even to give meaning to the work of the formal agencies.

A study of the relations of old and young in modern savage and barbarous societies throws some light upon the beginnings of formal education. Among some of the southeast Australians the old men and women were said to gather the youths about them at the evening camp fires and instruct them in the traditions and usages of the tribe. Such a practice is only one step removed from purely informal social intercourse. The time taken for instruction is that in which the community naturally gathers about the fire in the evening and talks.

The next step in the differentiation of the school is taken when some stated time is set apart, often of several months' duration, for initiation ceremonies. These constitute what is probably the most primitive type of formal schooling. At this time the physical strength and self-control of the youth are tested in various ways. He is taught, among the Australians, by the older men of the tribe in all the mythology and sacred customs and ceremonies of his people. By testing his endurance in many trying ways, they determine whether he has sufficient physical hardihood and mental self-control to be admitted into the society of adults, and carry his share of the responsibilities of tribal life. In the most primitive societies there is no special class set off as teachers. The whole social group takes a hand in the instruction, or, possibly, the group as represented in the old men. Respect for the old men is illustrated by the following words of Spencer and Gillen with reference to the central Australians. "It may be noted here that the deference paid to the old men during the ceremonies of examining the *churinga* is most marked; no young man thinks of speaking unless he be first addressed by one of the older men, and then he listens solemnly to all that the latter tells him. . . . The old man just referred to was especially looked up to as an *oknirabata*, or great instructor, a term which is only applied, as in this case, to men who are not only old, but learned in all the customs and traditions of the tribe, and whose influence is well seen at the ceremonies . . . where the greatest deference is paid them. A man may be old, very old indeed, but yet never attain to the rank of *oknirabata*."

Thomas says: "The educational system of the savage was designed to secure the solidarity of the group, not to convey a body of exact knowledge. The formal instruction was mainly moral; the occupational practice was picked up unformally. The food regulations of the Australians are a striking example of the thoroughness with which the moral instructions were imparted."[1]

The first point of importance is, then, that educational processes are, from the first, social processes, phases of social activity to secure the solidarity of the group and to maintain its *status quo*. They reflect more or less genuine and insistent social needs. In a primitive society it would be inconceivable that educational practices should

[1] *Source Book of Social Origins*, p. 316 f.

have to do with that which is merely accessory, with the superfluities of culture, as it were. Of course, the initiation ceremonies and the elaborate customs and mythologies may seem to us as the very height of the impractical and unnecessary. Judged, however, with reference to the results within the groups, we see that they do have a very great social significance. From the point of view of moral character alone it is doubtful whether the educational activities of the higher races are as efficacious as those of savages. The content of their instruction is quite different from ours, and yet excellence of moral character and social efficiency do not seem to depend altogether upon the content taught, — rather upon certain other conditions, — among which must be included the intimate relation of the whole process of education to the social group itself.

The second point is that when social culture becomes complex, familiar social intercourse is no longer adequate, and certain phases are selected out for special attention. At this point, formal agencies of instruction begin to differentiate. These are to be regarded as phases of the division of labor which are increasingly necessary as society passes from the primitive levels. The school as an institution and teaching as a profession are products of the inevitable differentiations of progressive societies. As has been said above, every educational activity is a response to some need felt more or less definitely by the social body within which the undertaking occurs. This is true even where it is maintained by private enterprise. There is always an organic relation to a social background of some sort. This is true at least in the initial phases of an educational enterprise. It is to be noted, however, that as soon as a school becomes organized with reference to meeting a certain need, it almost inevitably acquires an inertia or an irresponsiveness to the further demands of this social background. It loses its direct touch with the social matrix and develops a momentum of its own, irrespective of other social necessities which, in the meantime, may have come to the front. That is to say, an institution, as well as a person, may acquire habits and become relatively irresponsive to new situations and needs. In proportion as a school, whether supported by public or private funds, becomes definitely organized and continues its work for a considerable period of time, its activities and ideals tend to become more or

less fixed. In a progressive, or at least in a rapidly changing, society it is thus easy for established educational agencies to lose touch with the social matrix from which they spring. One of the most perplexing and difficult problems of the modern school, looking at it from the social side, is how to keep it wisely responsive to changes and developments in social needs. As we have seen, this problem is nonexistent for older types of society. It is distinctly a modern difficulty. Only in comparatively recent times has social change been very rapid. Thus we have on our hands to-day the educational institutions developed with reference to the demands of a much simpler and more static social order. Our present-day public elementary schools are predominantly expressions of the needs felt by a colonial and pioneer society, the need of instruction in the rudiments of polite culture — reading, writing and arithmetic. Other phases of pioneer culture were readily transmitted by informal means within and without the home. In fact, the whole social fabric and its culture was so simple that it was comparatively easy for a bright, energetic boy to get all of the best in it with a minimum of formal schooling. This tended to foster the notion, and it has widely prevailed, that schooling, after all, was not necessary to a useful life. If that were ever possible, it was only in the simple society of pioneer times. It would be all but impossible for a child to obtain any practical working acquaintance with the knowledge of the present generation without the assistance of some form of training.

The question that now confronts us is that of how to secure to a rapidly changing and possibly progressive social organization the maximum of good from its educational agencies; how to make them true instruments of progress. Manifestly, it is important that the educational agencies of modern peoples should be closely associated with social requirements more important, indeed, than in the case of primitive peoples. In pointing out this need for a responsiveness, or sympathetic relation between the school and its environment, we are mindful that this may easily go too far. Social changes are often fitful and evanescent, and certainly not always in the line of real progress. There could be no greater mistake on the part of the school than to yield to every demand from the social environment for a modification of its practice. The school should not be a blind slave

of society, yielding, hither and thither, in this way and that, to every push from without, neither can it be autocratic and altogether self-determining. It is a tool for performing a certain specialized function. It is an institution, the expression to some extent of intelligent purpose, and in the performance of its function it should be controlled in a measure from within by a wise appreciation of its relation to society. Beginning in an almost unconscious response to needs little removed from the animal level, educational agencies have developed into mighty social institutions. The time has come when these activities should cease to be unreflective, when they should be directed more and more in the light of a farsighted and enlightened view of real social needs as over against what may be mere passing whims and fancies. Those engaged in educational work are constituent parts of society, and it is as much, if not more, incumbent upon them to study social currents or tendencies and to try to evaluate them according to adequate standards as it is for any other members of society. The administrators and conductors of the teaching function will in some respects rise slightly above the average level of the rest of society. They should be trained to understand social movements and needs, and should be able to adjust their work so as to help that which is best in the social body to be adequately realized. The school should be adapted to the specific needs of the community which support it, and yet it should be a little ahead of it, the conscious exponent of the ideals which are more or less vaguely struggling for expression, thus helping the community to become conscious of and to realize its best, its most worthy, aspirations.

We can best make clear the principle we have been outlining by studying the rural school problem. In the following sections the problem will be that of defining more specifically the needs of present-day American communities which the educational agencies should try in some measure to meet and what is actually being done in some places to realize these broader educational functions.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Find illustrations in the present-day curriculum of the irresponsiveness of the school to social needs: *e.g.* (*a*) the insistence upon formal studies or the ancient classics to the exclusion of those

preparing for a vocation; (*b*) the various antiquated aspects of recognized subjects in the curriculum, as in geography, arithmetic, grammar.

2. Evidence of a failure to recognize the importance of personal initiative in learning.

3. Tendency toward formation of new schools. Why should new social needs be so often met first by private enterprise?

4. Is the formation of new schools to meet new needs paralleled in religion or politics in the new religious sects and new political parties?

5. Why do not new needs find more ready satisfaction through old institutions?

6. Show that Spartan and Athenian education was definitely worked out with reference to certain social ideals. So of other ancient peoples.

REFERENCES ON PRIMITIVE TYPES OF EDUCATION

HOWITT, ALFRED. *Native Tribes of Southeast Australia*, p. 529 ff. *et al.*

SPENCER, BALDWIN AND GILLEN. *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 212–230, 271–286, *et al.*

STEVENSON, M. C. "The Religious Life of the Zuñi Child," *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 9 ff.

SPENCER, FRANK. *Education of the Pueblo Child.* Columbia Contributions to Education.

THOMAS, W. I. *Source Book of Social Origins.* Quotes most of the important material from Howitt, Spencer and Gillen, and others.

CHAPTER III

THE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF THE SCHOOL, THE RURAL SITUATION

Introductory Statement

Current Extensions in the Meaning and Scope of Education: Their Social Significance

As we have said, the school has a double social meaning. It is an instrument used by society for the education of the community; it is, moreover, in itself a little society. Quite different types of problems cluster about these two aspects. The latter aspect will be treated in a later section of this *Source Book*. The former we shall take up now.

The traditional work of the school in the intellectual training of children is of course very important from the point of view of society. This service of the school has been the subject matter of much educational literature in the past, and we need not here discuss it further. We are here concerned rather to note the current broadening conceptions of the meaning and scope of education and its relation to social progress and social reform. "Gradually there [has grown] into shape the idea that the school should minister to other needs of the community besides the purely [*i.e.* traditionally] educational."

In the following sections we shall study various extensions of the work of the schools, extensions which carry them far beyond their legitimate scope as recognized by tradition. One of the problems to consider will be whether these extensions of school activity are socially justifiable, and whether, if they are, they may be considered as falling within the proper scope of the community's educational enterprises.

We shall start with the conception of education as a response to more or less specific social needs. From this point of view we shall

study the current active interest in the reconstruction of rural education. This will open to us the general problem of bringing the home and school closer together, first of all through different types of Home and School Associations. The next point naturally follows: the utilization of the school plant in various ways for the social good of the community, the problem of controlling and developing to some extent its social life and continuing the education of the community after the traditional school period, through lectures, continuation schools and evening schools. Still another aspect of current school extension is to be found in the playground movement, the development of vacation schools and of school gardening systems. These enterprises should all be considered from the point of view of their broad significance for both social amelioration and social progress. No phase of modern education is exciting more attention than that which concerns training for vocations. Closely associated with this and its logical outcome is the comparatively new movement of vocational guidance. The social importance of this work is so great that we are justified in devoting much space to it. Last of all, in the light of these vast extensions of the scope of educational ideals and practices, we shall attempt to state the principles underlying the relation of education to social progress and reform.

Introduction to the Rural Situation and the Rural School Problem

For several reasons the rural situation in America presents an interesting point at which to begin the study of the social relations of current education. The rural community forms a fairly distinguishable type within our social body. It has its distinctive economic problems, and from meeting these problems distinctive social and mental characteristics have been developed. The rural community demands, therefore, a form of education particularly adapted to itself, its problems, its needs, its special type of social life. Moreover, at the present time the prevailing type of rural education is peculiarly isolated from the community; it is peculiarly ill-adjusted to the actual needs of the social body which contributes to its support.

Such, however, was not the case in the earlier periods of our country's history. "The rural school of the early days, considering the

needs of almost pioneer conditions, was efficient. It was efficient largely because it was closely linked with the life of the community in most of its interests. The men of the community turned out and together built the schoolhouse. The teacher was a member of the neighborhood group, literally living with them, for he generally spent a part of the year in each home.[1] Young men and women between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one attended the school. The weekly literary society and frequent 'spelling bees' contributed to the social life of the community with the school as the center.

"Gradually the rural school has lost its hold upon the community. One by one the interests which brought the people and the school together have ceased. Along with these interests has disappeared much educational efficiency. But the traditions which grew up with the little one-room schoolhouse have persisted."[2]

For the continued stability and efficiency of the rural population it is unquestionably needful that the rural schools should be true and sympathetic interpreters of rural life. They should aim constantly to develop in country boys and girls a hearty appreciation of country life and of the possibilities afforded by that life for the exercise of the most varied abilities, for the play of the highest type of intelligence. They should ever set before the children the ideal that a career in the country is in no wise inferior to other careers for bright boys and girls; that, indeed, opportunities in the country are both interesting and important, whether from the point of view of personal development, personal enjoyment and health, or of public service. As every one knows, however, the rural schools have conspicuously failed to do these things. Instead of educating boys and girls to an appreciation of country life, they have tended to create a distaste for that life, they have literally educated the brighter country youth away from their natural sphere of activity. In the words of Sir Horace Plunkett, "At present, the country children are educated as if for the purpose of driving them into the towns."

The causes for this as far as the schools are concerned are manifold; among them may be mentioned inexperienced teachers educated in

[1] See Monroe's *Cyclopedia of Education*, article, "Boarding Around."

[2] B. M. Davis, "The General Problem of the Relation of the Rural School to the Community Needs," *Tenth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part II, p. 60.

the cities, unacquainted with, and hence unappreciative of, country life, teachers who look upon their country experience as a probation leading to socially more desirable and better paid positions in the city. Such teachers inevitably turn the attention of their pupils to the city as the most desirable place for a career. Then, again, the formal, predominantly intellectual studies taught in the rural school contribute little or nothing to the opening of the children's minds to an appreciation of the interests of country life. These interests, in fact, receive no definite recognition in the traditional and still prevalent country schools. Again, the wretched quality of the teaching turns the best youths to the improved modern schools of the urban communities.

The fact that the rural population, as far as mere numbers are concerned, has not kept pace with the urban is the best evidence that the forces at work in the country are unfavorable to the proper development of country life. There are many causes in addition to inadequate and false educational ideals which have contributed to the rapid exodus from the country to the city. Not many years since, the prices of farm products were so low that even the hard-working farmer could only with great difficulty pay for his farm and support and educate his family. At its best, the life on the average farm was full of hardships, and the common comforts of existence seemed forever just out of reach. Better prices for farm products and the present gradual introduction into the country of some of the basic comforts of life that have hitherto been the exclusive property of the city, improved methods of work, which relieve all members of the family of at least a part of the exhausting drudgery hitherto attendant upon farm life, are doing much to make country life more attractive.

One aspect of country life which has undoubtedly contributed much to drive people to the city has been its isolation, its deplorable lack of opportunity for healthful social enjoyment. Country people are not, however, naturally unsociable. In the earlier days country life was certainly not lacking in this respect. It is the shifting, unstable character of the rural population of the second and third generation and the glamour of the amusements offered by the city that have brought about a gradual disintegration of the social life of the country.

At the present time, skilled social workers are giving attention to ways of meeting this need.[1]

It is certain that the maintenance of comfortable, contented and rapidly increasing rural communities is absolutely essential to the stability of society as a whole. Already the urban population has so far outrun the rural that our country is in a condition of extremely unstable equilibrium. Literally, there are not enough people engaged in producing foodstuffs to support the rapidly enlarging cities. The development of an attractive and profitable country life is then a crying social need. The rural schools have a most important part to play in the solution of this problem, although they cannot, of course, do all. There are already many excellent attempts on the part of the schools in certain communities to do something along much-needed lines. The important thing, just now, is to familiarize rural communities in general with what is being done, in certain places, to educate them up to the point at which they will demand similar services. Every one who has made an investigation of the subject notes the indifference which prevails so largely over the country toward the most needed improvements. It is to be hoped that better prices for farm products and farm lands will attract larger and larger numbers of energetic and trained young men and women to farm life. If such a movement can once be set up, it will inevitably react upon the schools, which will in turn be able to operate in many ways to render the life more interesting.

The chief lines along which efforts are being expended to-day are as follows: —

(*a*) Development of a course of study for the country schools which will furnish more definite preparation for country life and for the various phases of agriculture and animal husbandry.

(*b*) The securing of teachers who will be more thoroughly in sympathy and more thoroughly acquainted with farm life and farm problems.

(*c*) The development of the school as a center of social and intellectual life in the community.

[1] See Stern's *Neighborhood Entertainments* in the Young Farmer's Series. The entire series is worthy of attention to one interested in rural amelioration. New York, Sturgis & Walton.

(*d*) The development of the agricultural high school.
(*e*) Organization of boys' and girls' farm clubs.
(*f*) Extension of rural libraries.
(*g*) Consolidated rural schools.

Experiments thus far are largely tentative, but are most worthy of study. In the source material which follows, these problems are further outlined, and illustrations of practical work are offered. In connection with the study of this material and of the problems which follow, the student should try to determine in his own mind the most promising lines of development and the ones which, under existing conditions are most practicable.

The Hesperia Movement

The gulf between parent and teacher is too common a phenomenon to need exposition. The existence of the chasm is probably due more to carelessness, to the pressure of time, or to indolence than to any more serious delinquencies; yet all will admit the disastrous effects that flow from the fact that there is not the close intellectual and spiritual sympathy that there should be between the school and the home. It needs no argument to demonstrate the value of any movement that has for its purpose the bridging of the gulf. But it is an omen of encouragement to find that there are forces at work designed to bring teacher and school patron into a closer working harmony. A statement of the history and methods of some of these agencies may therefore well have a place in a discussion of rural progress, for the movements to be described are essentially rural school movements. Of first interest is an attempt which has been made in the state of Michigan to bridge the gulf — to create a common standing ground for both teacher and parent — and on that basis to carry on an educational campaign that it is hoped will result in the many desirable conditions which, *a priori*, might be expected from such a union. At present the movement is confined practically to the rural schools. It consists in the organization of a county Teachers and Patrons' Association, with a membership of teachers and school patrons, properly officered. Its chief method of work is to hold one or more meetings a year, usually in the country or in small villages, and the program is designed to cover educational questions in such a way as to be of interest and profit to both teachers and farmers.

This movement was indigenous to Michigan — its founders worked out the scheme on their own initiative, and to this day its promoters have never drawn upon any resources outside the state for suggestion

or plan. But if the friends of rural education elsewhere shall be attracted by this method of solving one of the vexed phases of their problem, I hope that they will describe it as "the Hesperia movement." For the movement originated in Hesperia, was developed there, and its entire success in Hesperia was the reason for its further adoption. Hesperia deserves any renown that may chance to come from the widespread organization of Teachers and Patrons' Associations.

And where is Hesperia? It lies about forty miles north and west of Grand Rapids — a mere dot of a town, a small country village at least twelve or fifteen miles from any railroad. It is on the extreme eastern side of Oceana County, surrounded by fertile farming lands, which have been populated by a class of people who may be taken as a type of progressive, successful, intelligent American farmers. Many of them are of Scotch origin. Partly because of their native energy, partly, perhaps, because their isolation made it necessary to develop their own institutions, these people believe in and support good schools, the Grange, and many progressive movements.

For several years there had existed in Oceana County the usual county teachers' association. But, because Hesperia was so far from the center of the county, the teachers who taught schools in the vicinity could rarely secure a meeting of the association at Hesperia; and in turn they found it difficult to attend the meetings held in the western part of the county. A few years ago it chanced that this group of teachers was composed of especially bright, energetic, and original young men and women. They determined to have an association of their own. It occurred to some one that it would add strength to their organization if the farmers were asked to meet with them. The idea seemed to "take," and the meetings became quite popular. This was during the winter of 1885–1886. Special credit for this early venture belongs to Mr. E. L. Brooks, still of Hesperia and an ex-president of the present association, and to Dr. C. N. Sowers, of Benton Harbor, Mich., who was one of the teachers during the winter named, and who was elected secretary of the Board of School Examiners in 1887. Mr. Brooks writes: —

"The programs were so arranged that the participants in discussions and in the reading of papers were about equally divided between teachers and patrons. An active interest was awakened from the start. For one thing, it furnished a needed social gathering during the winter for the farmers. The meetings were held on Saturdays, and the schoolhouse favored was usually well filled. The meetings were not held at only one schoolhouse but were made to circulate among the different schools. These gatherings were so successful that similar societies were organized in other portions of the county."

In 1892, Mr. D. E. McClure, who has since (1896–1900) been deputy superintendent of public instruction of Michigan, was selected county-school commissioner of Oceana County. Mr. McClure is a man of great enthusiasm and made a most successful commissioner. He conceived the idea that this union of teachers and patrons could be made of the greatest value, in stimulating both teachers and farmers to renewed interest in the real welfare of the children as well as a means of securing needed reforms. His first effort was to prepare a list of books suitable for pupils in all grades of the rural schools. He also prepared a rural lecture course, as well as a plan for securing libraries for the schools. All these propositions were adopted by a union meeting of teachers and farmers. His next step was to unite the interests of eastern Oceana County and Western Newaygo County (Newaygo lying directly east of Oceana), and in 1893 there was organized the "Oceana and Newaygo Counties Joint Grangers and Teachers' Association," the word "Granger" being inserted because of the activity of the Grange in support of the movement. Mr. McClure has pardonable pride in this effort of his, and his own words will best describe the development of the movement: —

"This association meets Thursday night and continues in session until Saturday night. Some of the best speakers in America have addressed the association. Dr. Arnold Tompkins, in speaking before the association, said it was a wonderful association and the only one of its character in the United States.

"What was my ideal in organizing such associations?

"1. To unite the farmers who pay the taxes that support the schools, the homemakers, the teachers, the pupils, into a coöperative work for better rural school education.

"2. To give wholesome entertainment in the rural districts, which from necessity are more or less isolated.

"3. To create a taste for good American literature in home and school, and higher ideals of citizenship.

"4. Summed up in all, to make the rural schools character builders, to rid the districts of surroundings which destroy character, such as unkept school yards, foul, nasty outhouses, poor unfit teachers. These reforms, you understand, come only through a healthy educational sentiment which is aroused by a sympathetic coöperation of farm, home, and school.

"What results have I been able to discover growing out of this work? Ideals grow so slowly that one cannot measure much progress in a few years. We are slaves to conditions, no matter how hard, and we suffer them to exist rather than arouse ourselves and shake them off. The immediate results are better schools, yards, outbuildings, schoolrooms, teachers, literature for rural people to read.

"Many a father and mother whose lives have been broken upon the wheel of labor have heard some of America's orators, have read some of the world's best books, because of this movement, and their lives have been made happier, more influential, more hopeful.

"Thousands of people have been inspired, made better, at the Hesperia meetings."

In western Michigan the annual gathering at Hesperia is known far and wide as "the big meeting." The following extract from the Michigan *Moderator-Topics* indicates in the editor's breezy way the impression the meeting for 1906 made upon an observer: —

"Hesperia scores another success. Riding over the fourteen miles from the railroad to Hesperia with Governor Warner and D. E. McClure, we tried to make the latter believe that the crowd would not be forthcoming on that first night of the fourteenth annual 'big meeting.' It was zero weather and mighty breezy. For such a movement to succeed two years is creditable, to hold out for five is wonderful, to last ten is marvelous, but to grow bigger and better for fourteen years is little short of miraculous. McClure is recognized as the father of the movement, and his faith didn't waver a hair's breadth. And sure enough, there was the crowd — standing room only, to hear the governor and see the great cartoonist, J. T. McCutcheon of the *Chicago Tribune*. For three evenings and two days the big hall is crowded with patrons, pupils and teachers from the towns and country round. During the fourteen years that these meetings have been held, the country community has heard some of the world's greatest speakers. The plan has been adopted by other counties in Michigan and other states both east and west. Its possibilities and its power for good is immeasurable. Every one connected with it may well feel proud of the success attending the now famous 'Hesperia movement.'"

In 1897, Kent County, Michigan (of which Grand Rapids is the county seat), organized a Teachers and Patrons' Association that is worth a brief description, although in more recent years its work has been performed by other agencies. It nevertheless serves as a good example of a well-organized association designed to unite the school and home interests of rural communities. It was for several years signally successful in arousing interest in all parts of the county. Besides, it made a departure from the Oceana-Newaygo plan which must be considered advantageous for most counties. The Hesperia meeting is an annual affair, with big crowds and abundant enthusiasm. The Kent County association was itinerant. The membership included teachers, school officers, farmers generally and even pupils. An attempt was made to hold monthly meetings during the school year,

but for various reasons only five or six meetings a year were held. The meetings usually occurred in some Grange hall, the Grange furnishing entertainment for the guests. There were usually three sessions — Friday evening and Saturday forenoon and afternoon. The average attendance was nearly five hundred, about one tenth being teachers; many teachers as well as farmers went considerable distances to attend.

The Kent County association did not collect any fees from its members, the Teachers' Institute fund of the county being sufficient to provide for the cost of lectures at the association meetings. Permission for this use of the fund was obtained from the state superintendent of public instruction. Some counties have a membership fee; at Hesperia the fee is fifty cents, and a membership ticket entitles its holder to a reserved seat at all sessions. The Kent County association also suggested a reading course for its members.

The success of the work in Kent County was due primarily to the fact that the educators and the farmers and their leaders are in especially close sympathy. And right there is the vital element of success in this work. The initiative must be taken by the educators, but the play must be thoroughly democratic, and teacher and farmer must be equally recognized in all particulars. The results of the work in Kent County were thus summarized by the commissioner of schools of the county:

"To teachers, the series of meetings is a series of mid-year institutes. Every argument in favor of institutes applies with all its force to these associations. To farmers they afford a near-by lecture course, accessible to all members of the family, and of as high grade as those maintained in the larger villages. To the schools, the value is in the general sentiment and interest awakened. The final vote on any proposed school improvement is taken at the annual school meeting, and the prevailing sentiment in the neighborhood has everything to do with this vote. And not only this, but the general interest of patrons may help and cheer both teacher and pupils throughout the year. On the other hand, indifference and neglect may freeze the life out of the most promising school. There is no estimating the value to the schools in this respect."

The Kent County association had a very simple constitution. It is appended here for the benefit of any who may desire to begin this beneficent work of endeavoring to draw more closely together rural schools and country homes.

"*Article* I. — *Name*

"This association shall be known as "The Kent County Teachers and Patrons' Association."

"*Article* II. — *Membership*

"Any person may become a member of this association by assenting to this constitution and paying the required membership fee.

"*Article* III. — *Objects*

"The object of this association shall be the promotion of better educational facilities in all ways and the encouragement of social and intellectual culture among its members.

"*Article* IV. — *Meetings*

"At least five meetings of the association shall be held each year, during the months of October, November, January, February, and March, the dates and places of meetings to be determined and announced by the executive committee. Special meetings may be called at the election of the executive committee.

"*Article* V. — *Officers*

"*Section* 1. The officers of the association shall be a president, a vice president, a secretary, a treasurer, and an executive committee composed of five members to be appointed by the president.

"*Sec.* 2. The election of officers shall occur at the regular meeting of the association in the month of October.

"*Sec.* 3. The duties of each officer shall be such as parliamentary usage assigns, respectively, according to Cushing's Manual.

"*Sec.* 4. It shall be the duty of the executive committee to arrange a schedule of meetings and to provide suitable lecturers and instructors for the same on or before the first day of September of each year. It shall be the further duty of this committee to devise means to defray the expenses incurred for lecturers and instructors. All meetings shall be public, and no charge for admission shall be made, except by order of the executive committee.

"*Article* VI. — *Course of Reading*

"*Section* 1. The executive committee may also recommend a course of reading to be pursued by members, and it shall be their duty to make such other recommendations from time to time as shall have for their object the more effective carrying out of the purposes of the association."

Whether the Oceana County plan of a set annual meeting or the Kent County plan of numerous itinerant meetings is the better one depends much on the situation. It is not improbable that itinerant meetings,

with an annual " round-up " meeting of the popular type as the great event of the school year, would be very satisfactory.

Other counties in the state have taken up the Hesperia idea. In some cases associations similar to the Kent County association have been developed. More recently the work has frequently been carried on by the county commissioner of schools directly. " Institutes on wheels " have become a factor in the campaign for better rural schools. One commissioner writes: —

"My aim has been to bring into very close relationship teachers, patrons, and pupils. This is done, in part, in the following manner: I engage, for a week's work at a time, some educator of state or national reputation to ride with me on my visitation of schools. Through the day, schools are visited, pupils' work inspected, and in the evening a rally is held in the locality visited in that day. A circuit is made during the week, and Friday evening and the Saturday following a general round-up is held. The results of this work have been far-reaching. Teachers, patrons and pupils are brought into close relationship and a higher standard of education is developed."

The form of organization matters little. The essential idea of the " Hesperia movement " was to bring together the teacher and the school patron on a common platform, to a common meeting place, to discuss subjects of common interest. This idea must be vitalized in the rural community before that progress in rural school matters which we desire shall become a fact.

It is only fair to say that administrators of rural school systems in several states are attempting in one way or another, and have done so for some years, to bring together teachers and school patrons. In Iowa there are mothers' clubs organized for the express purpose of promoting the best interests of the schools. In many of the communities the county superintendent organizes excursions, and holds school contests which are largely attended by patrons of the schools.

Ohio has what is known as the " Ohio School Improvement Federation." Its objects are: (1) to create a wholesome educational sentiment in the citizenship of the state; (2) to remove the school from partisan politics; (3) to make teaching a profession, protected and justly compensated. County associations of the federation are being organized and the effort is being made to reach the patrons of the schools and to create the right public sentiment. In many of the teachers' institutes there is one session devoted entirely to subjects that are of special interest to the school board members and to the patrons of the schools. Educational rallies are held in many of the townships, at which effort is made to get together all the citizens and have an exhibition of school work.

In Minnesota, a law was passed recently to the effect that school officers within a county may attend one educational convention a year upon call of the county superintendent. They receive therefor three dollars for one day's services and five cents mileage each way for attendance. Already a number of very successful conventions have been held, wherein all school districts in the counties have been represented.

The county institutes in Pennsylvania are largely attended by the public and are designed to reach patrons as well as teachers.

In Kansas, county superintendents have organized school patrons' associations and school board associations, both of which definitely purpose to bring together the school and the home and the officers of the school into one body and coöperate with individuals for the purpose of bettering the school conditions.

Doubtless other states are carrying on similar methods.

An interesting movement wholly independent of the Hesperia plan has recently been put into operation under the leadership of Principal Myron T. Scudder of the State Normal School, New Paltz, N.Y. He has organized a series of country school conferences. They grew out of a recognized need, but were an evolution rather than a definite scheme. The school commissioner, the teachers, and the Grange people of the community have joined in making up the conference. An attempt is also made to interest the pupils. At one conference there was organized an athletic league for the benefit of the boys of the county school. The practical phases of nature study and manual training are treated on the program, and at least one session is made a parents' meeting. There is no organization whatever.

Dr. A. E. Winship, of the *Journal of Education*, Boston, had the following editorial in the issue of June 21, 1906:—

"It is now fourteen years since D. E. McClure brought into being the Hesperia movement, which is a great union of educational and farmer forces, in a midwinter Chautauqua, as it were. Twelve miles from the railroad, in the slight village of Hesperia, a one-street village, one side of the street being in one county and the other side in another, for three days and evenings in midwinter each year, in a ramshackle building, eight hundred people from all parts of the two counties sit in reserved seats, for which they pay a good price, and listen to one or two notable speakers and a number of local functionaries. One half of the time is devoted to education and the other to farm interests.

"It is a great idea, well worked out, and after fourteen years it maintains its lustiness, but I confess to disappointment that the idea has not spread more extensively. It is so useful there, and the idea is so suggestive, that it should have been well-nigh universal, and yet despite occasional bluffs at it, I know of no serious effort to adopt it elsewhere,

unless the midwinter meeting at Shelby, in one of these two counties, can be considered a spread of the idea. This child of the Hesperia movement, in one of the two counties, and only twenty miles away, had this year many more in attendance than have ever been at Hesperia.

"This work of uniting more closely the interests, sympathies, and intelligence of the teachers and patrons of the rural school has had a test in Michigan of sufficient length to prove that it is a practicable scheme. No one questions the desirability of the ends it is prepared to compass, and experience in Michigan shows not only that where the educators have sufficient enterprise, tact, enthusiasm, and persistence the necessary organizations can be perfected, but that substantial results follow. For the sake of the better rural schools, then, it is sincerely to be hoped that the 'Hesperia movement' may find expression in numerous teachers and patrons' associations in at least the great agricultural states."

K. L. Butterfield, *Chapters in Rural Progress*, courtesy of University of Chicago Press.

The Rural School and the Community

Among the great phenomena of our time is the growth of the school idea — the realization of the part that the school plays in our civilization and in the training of our youth for life. Our New England fathers started the school in order that their children might learn to read the Scriptures, and thus that they might get right ideas of their religious duty. Even after this aim was outgrown, our schools for generations did little more than to teach the use of the mere tools of knowledge; to read, to write and to cipher were the great aims of the schoolroom. Even geography and grammar were rather late arrivals. Then came the idea that the school should train children for citizenship, and it was argued that the chief reason why schools be supported at public expense was in order that good citizens should be trained there. History and civil government were put into the course in obedience to this theory. Another step was taken when physiology was added, because it was an acknowledgment that the schools should do something to train youth in the individual art of living. Still another step was taken when manual training and domestic science were brought into our city schools, because these studies emphasize the fact that the schools must do something to train workers. And finally we have at present the idea gaining a strong foothold that the schools must train the child to fill its place in the world of men; to see all the relations of life; to be fitted to live in human society. This idea really embraces all of the other ideas. It implies that the schools shall not only teach each individual the elements of knowledge, that they shall train for citizenship, that they shall train men in the art of living,

that they shall aid in preparing for an occupation, but that they shall do *all* of these things, and do them not merely for the good of the individual, but for the good of society as a whole.

And not only is there a feeling that the pupil in school can be brought into closer touch with the life of the community, but that the school as an institution can be made more useful to the community as a whole. This double thought has been expressed in the phrase, " Make the school a social center," and practically it is being slowly worked out in numerous city schools. How far can this idea be developed in the country schools?

The purpose of this chapter is not to deal in the theory of the subject nor to argue particularly for this view of the function of the school, but rather to try to show some methods by which the rural school and the farm community actually can be brought into closer relations. In this way we may perhaps indicate that there is a better chance for coöperation between the rural school and the farm community than we have been accustomed to believe, and that this closer relation is worth striving for. Five methods will be suggested by which the rural school can become a social center. Some of these have already been tried in rural communities, some of them have been tried in cities, and some of them have not been tried at all.

1. The first means of making the rural school a social center is through the course of study. It is here that the introduction of nature study into our rural schools would be especially helpful. This nature study, when properly followed, approves itself both to educators and to farmers. It is a pedagogical principle recognized by every modern teacher that in education it is necessary to consider the environment of the child, so that the school may not be to him "a thing remote and foreign." The value of nature study is recognized not only in thus making possible an intelligent study of the country child's environment, but in teaching a love of nature, in giving habits of correct observation, and in preparing for the more fruitful study of science in later years. Our best farmers are also coming to see that nature study in the rural schools is a necessity, because it will tend to give a knowledge of the laws that govern agriculture, because it will teach the children to love the country, because it will show the possibilities of living an intellectual life upon the farm. Nature study, therefore, will have a very direct influence in bringing the child into close touch with the whole life of the farm community.

But it is not so much a matter of introducing new studies — the old studies can be taught in such a way as to make them seem vital and human. Take, for instance, geography. It used to be approached from the standpoint of the solar system. It now begins with the schoolhouse and the pupils' homes, and works outward from the things

that the child sees and knows to the things that it must imagine. History, writing, reading, the sciences, and even other subjects can be taught so as to connect them vitally and definitely with the life of the farm community. To quote Colonel Parker, who suggests the valuable results of such a method of teaching: —

"It would make a strong, binding union of the home and the school, the farm methods and the school methods. It would bring the farm into the school and project the school into the farm. It would give parent and teacher one motive, in the carrying out of which both could heartily join. The parent would appreciate and judge fairly the work of the school, the teacher would honor, dignify and elevate the work of the farm."

The study of the landscape of the near-by country, the study of the streams, the study of the soils, studies that have to do with the location of homes, of villages, the study of the weather, of the common plants, of domestic animals—all of these things will give the child a better start in education, a better comprehension of the life he is to live, a better idea of the business of farming, a better notion about the importance of agriculture, and will tend to fit him better for future life either on the farm or anywhere else, than could any amount of the old-fashioned book knowledge. Is it not a strange fact that so many farmers will decry book knowledge when applied to the business of farming, and at the same time set so much store by the book learning that is given in the common arithmetic, the old-fashioned reader, and the dry grammar of the typical school? Of course any one pleading for this sort of study in the rural schools must make it clear that the ordinary accomplishments of reading, writing and ciphering are not to be neglected. As a matter of fact, pupils under this method can be just as well trained in these branches as under the old plan. The point to be emphasized, however, is that a course of study constructed on this theory will tend to bring the school and the community closer together, will make the school of more use to the community, will give the community more interest in the school, while at the same time it will better prepare pupils to do their work in life.

2. A second way of making the rural school a social center is through the social activities of the pupils. This means that the pupils as a body can coöperate for certain purposes, and that this coöperation will not only secure some good results of an immediate character, results that can be seen and appreciated by every one, but that it will teach the spirit of coöperation — and there is hardly anything more needed to-day in rural life than this spirit of coöperation. The schools can perform no better service than in training young people to work together for common ends. In this work such things as special day programs, as for Arbor Day, Washington's Birthday, Pioneer Day;

the holding of various school exhibitions; the preparation of exhibits for county fairs, and similar endeavors, are useful and are being carried out in many of our rural schools. But the best example of this work is a plan that is being used in the state of Maine, and is performed through the agency of what is called a School Improvement League. The purposes of the league are: (1) to improve school grounds and buildings; (2) to furnish suitable reading matter for pupils and people; (3) to provide works of art for schoolrooms. There are three forms of the league: the local leagues organized in each school; the town leagues, whose membership consists of the officers of the local leagues; and a state league, whose members are delegates from the town leagues and members of the local leagues, who hold school diplomas. Any pupil, teacher, school officer, or any other citizen may join the league on payment of the dues. The minimum dues are one cent a month for each pupil, for other members not less than ten cents a term. But these dues may be made larger by vote of the league. Each town league sends a delegate to the meeting of the state league. Each league has the usual number of officers elected for one term. These leagues were first organized in 1898 and they have already accomplished much. They have induced school committees to name various schools for distinguished American citizens, as Washington, Lincoln, and so forth. They give exhibitions and entertainments for the purpose of raising funds. Sometimes they use these funds to buy books for the schoolroom. The books are then loaned to the members of the league; at the end of the term this set of books is exchanged for another set of books from another school in the same township. In this way at slight expense each school may have the use of a large number of books every year. The same thing is done with pictures and works of art, these being purchased and exchanged in the same way. Through the efforts of the league schoolhouses have been improved inside and out and the school grounds improved. It is not so much the doing of new things that has been attempted by this league. The important item is that the school has been *organized* for these definite purposes, and the work is carried on systematically from year to year. It needs no argument to show the value of this sort of coöperation to the pupil, to the teacher, to the school, to the parents, and ultimately to the community as a whole.

3. A third method is through coöperation between the home and the school, between the teacher and pupils on one side, and parents and taxpayers on the other side. Parents sometimes complain that the average school is a sort of a mill, or machine, into which their children are placed and turned out just so fast, and in just such condition. But if this is the case, it is partly the fault of the parents who do not keep in close enough touch with the work of

the school. It is not that parents are not interested in their children, but it is rather that they look at the school as something separate from the ordinary affairs of life. Now, nothing can be more necessary than that this notion should be done away with. There must be the closest coöperation between the home and school. How can this coöperation be brought about? Frequently parents are urged to visit the schools. This is all right and proper, but it is not enough. There must be a closer relation than this. The teacher must know more about the home life of her pupils, and the parents must know far more about the whole purpose and spirit, as well as the method, of the school. A great deal of good has been done by the joint meeting of teachers and school officers. It is a very wise device, and should be kept up. But altogether the most promising development along this line is the so-called "Hesperia movement," described in another chapter. These meetings of school patrons and teachers take up the work of the school in a way that will interest both teachers and farmers. They bring the teachers and farmers into closer touch socially and intellectually. They disperse fogs of misunderstanding. They inspire to closer coöperation. They create mutual sympathy. They are sure to result in bringing the teacher into closer touch with community life and with the social problems of the farm. And they are almost equally sure to arouse the interest of the entire community, not only in the school as an institution and in the possibilities of the work it may do, but also in the work of that teacher who is for the time being serving a particular rural school.

4. A fourth method is by making the schoolhouse a meeting place for the community, more especially for the intellectual and æsthetic activities of the community. A good example of this kind of work is the John Spry School of Chicago. In connection with this school there is a lecture course each winter; there is a musical society that meets every Tuesday evening; there is a men's club that meets every two weeks to discuss municipal problems and the improvement of home conditions; there is a mothers' council meeting every two weeks; there is a literary and dramatic society, meeting every week, composed of members of high school age, and studying Shakespeare particularly; there is a dressmaking and aid society meeting two evenings a week, to study the cutting of patterns, garment making, etc.; a food study and cooking club also meeting two evenings a week; an inventive and mechanical club, meeting two evenings a week and tending to develop the inventive and mechanical genius of a group of young men; an art club; and a boys' club, with music, games, reading lessons, reading of books and magazines, intended for boys of fourteen or fifteen years of age. These things are all under the direction of the school, they are free, they are designed to educate.

It will not be feasible for the rural school to carry out such a program as this, but do we realize how large are the possibilities of this idea of making the rural school a community center? No doubt one of the advantages of the centralized rural school will be to give a central meeting place for the township, and to encourage work of the character that has been described. Of course, the Grange and farmers' clubs are doing much along these lines, but is it not possible for the district school also to do some useful work of this character? Singing schools and debating clubs were quite a common thing in the rural schools forty years ago, and there are many rural schools to-day that are doing work of this very kind. Is there any reason, for example, why the country schoolhouse should not offer an evening school during a portion of the winter, where the older pupils who have left the regular work of the school can carry on studies especially in agriculture and domestic science? There is need for this sort of thing, and if our agricultural colleges and the departments of public instruction, and the local school supervisors, and the country teachers, and the farmers themselves could come a little closer together on these questions, the thing could be done!

5. Fifth and last, as a method for making the school a social center, is the suggestion that the teacher herself shall become something of a leader in the farm community. The teacher ought to be not only a teacher of the pupils, but in some sense a teacher of the community. Is there not need that some one should take the lead in inspiring every one in the community to read better books, to buy better pictures, to take more interest in the things that make for culture and progress? There are special difficulties in a country community. The rural teacher is usually a transient; she secures a city school as soon as she can; she is often poorly paid; she is sometimes inexperienced; frequently the labor of the school absorbs all her time and energy. Unfortunately these things are, but they ought not to be so. And we shall never have the ideal rural school until we have conditions favorable to the kind of work just described. The country teacher ought to understand the country community, ought to have some knowledge of the problems that the farmers have to face, ought to have some appreciation of the peculiar conditions of farm life. Every teacher should have some knowledge of rural sociology. The normal school should make this subject a required subject in the course, especially for country teachers. Teachers' institutes and reading circles should in some way provide this sort of thing. This is one of the most important means of bringing the rural school into closer touch with the farm community. Ten years ago Henry Sabin of Iowa, one of the keenest students of the rural school problem, in speaking of the supervision of country schools, said: —

"The supervisor of rural schools should be acquainted with the material resources of his district. He should know not only what constitutes good farming, but the prevailing industry of the region should be so familiar to him that he can converse intelligently with the inhabitants, and convince them that he knows something besides books. The object is not alone to gain influence over them, but to bring the school into closer touch with the home life of the community about. It is not to invite the farmer to the school, but to take the school to the farm, and to show the pupils that here before their eyes are the foundations upon which have been built the great natural sciences."

The program needed to unify rural school and farm community is, then, first to enrich the course of study by adding nature study and agriculture, and about these coördinating the conventional school subjects; second, to encourage the coöperation of the pupils, especially for the improvement of the school and its surroundings; third, to bring together for discussion and acquaintance the teachers and the patrons of the school; fourth, so far as possible to make the schoolhouse a meeting place for the community, for young people as well as for older people, where music, art, social culture, literature, study of farming, and, in fact, anything that has to do with rural education, may be fostered; and fifth, to expect the teacher to have a knowledge of the industrial and general social conditions of agriculture, especially those of the community in which her lot is cast.

K. L. Butterfield. Reprinted by courtesy of the University of Chicago Press from *Chapters in Rural Progress.*

Community Work in the Agricultural High School

The methods of community work fitting specific places must be judged by individual conditions. A typical procedure is that of the Agricultural High School of Baltimore County, Maryland. This school has been in operation during but two school years, yet it has already carried out at least one type of work with each class of people in its neighborhood: farmers, farmers' wives, young people, rural-school teachers, and children. As a result, the people are frankly and heartily interested in the school and already regard it as one of their best possessions.

The school is a small high school maintained by county school funds. It is thus an integral part of the school system of the county. It is located out in the open country, not adjacent to any town or village, but near a station of the railroad by which many of the high school students come daily. Four elementary schools totaling ninety pupils were consolidated in two classes which meet in the high school

building. The high school department had in the first year fifty students. School wagons and private conveyances bring many whose homes are not adjacent to the railroad. The school has seven acres of ground and a good granite building which has five classrooms, the two largest of which can be converted into a hall for meetings, seating three hundred. There are a manual training room, a domestic science room, an agricultural laboratory, a farm machinery room, and toilet rooms in the basement. The school has its own heating, lighting and water supply system. It teaches all the usual high school subjects except foreign languages, in place of which it offers agriculture, domestic science and manual training. In short, the school resembles others over the country in its equipment and courses.

When the school started, it was decided as a definite part of its policy that for the fulfillment of its possibilities, educational facilities must be offered for every class of persons in the community: men, women and children. Before the school building was completed, a mailing list of persons in the county was made. The principal was new in the community; he knew no one. This list was to be his method of reaching all the folks. The list was compiled from subscription lists of county papers, poll lists of voters, memberships of farmers' clubs and granges, account books of physicians and lawyers, and other sources. When the list was made up into a cross-reference card index, a very valuable fund of information was obtainable about almost any one of interest in the county. It was not only possible thus to have a list of all persons living on farms or interested in agriculture, but also to tell at a glance whether they were persons of prominence or not, and even what their politics were supposed to be. Subsequent information is added to these cards, such as whether they answered a letter of inquiry sent out by the school, whether they attended certain activities of the school, and so forth. Ultimately this list should be of enormous value, as it will show those persons who can or cannot be expected to respond. Even at present it is possible to condense the list considerably by discarding for some purposes those whose interest is apparently in another direction.

The first event was to be the dedication of the new building, the details of which were turned over to two farm clubs — one of men, the other of women. The men's club is known as the Junior Gunpowder Agricultural Club, the women's as the Women's Home Interest Club. Both are composed of some of the most intelligent and progressive persons in the community. The clubs have been of great benefit to the neighborhood, even though they are small and somewhat exclusive organizations. Through all the community work of the school the men and women of these clubs have been so actively participant as to be of great assistance. If there were no farm clubs in the neighbor-

hood, the school would organize them, because they are capable of so great assistance.

Three thousand personal invitations, the names obtained from the card index, were sent out from the school for the dedication exercises. The best possible speakers were obtained. Of course the building was not nearly large enough to hold the folks, so that the exercises were held out doors, as many of the crowd as possible being seated on rough board benches. The women's club served a luncheon before the exercises to a large number of specially invited guests. Because the school owned no chairs, every one stood during the meal.

At about the same time posters telling of what the school had to offer appeared all over the county. They were nailed up on trees at crossroads, and on post offices, blacksmith shops, schoolhouses, and even churches. The school believes in local advertising. Whenever a new organization or series of meetings is attempted, the local and city papers are given full information; consequently, the school has much free publicity, all of which has aided its work.

The community work started almost as soon as the regular classes. The first organization formed was a series of monthly meetings for rural school teachers. It seemed desirable to introduce elementary agriculture into the rural one-teacher schools, but difficulty had been experienced because of the feeling of incompetence on the part of the teacher. To overcome this, in part at least, the rural teachers were invited to the agricultural high school for an all-day session on one Saturday each month. The morning was spent on lessons in general school methods and administration given by experts furnished by the county school authorities. Each teacher brought a basket lunch and all ate together in the domestic science kitchen. The school served hot coffee or tea, some of the high school girls attired in their cooking uniforms acting as the waitresses. The afternoon was devoted to agriculture. The teachers were given one general lesson expounded from a textbook and then went to the agricultural laboratory where an exercise was carried through by each teacher. Care was taken to have these exercises such that they could be repeated in the rural schools without expensive apparatus. The object was not only to familiarize the teachers with methods and subject matter, but also to make them realize that real agricultural lessons were possible in their schools under their conditions. At the same time lessons in elementary agriculture, written by the principal with a view to local conditions, were printed in the monthly issues of a local educational publication which is sent free by the school authorities to every teacher in the county. By means of these lessons and the meetings at the school it was hoped that agriculture could gradually be introduced. The meetings were not successful. Transportation

facilities were bad for those teachers coming from a distance. One teacher wrote that she could not get a horse to drive, and although she would gladly walk the ten miles each way necessary to reach the railroad, she could hardly do so and catch the six o'clock train for the school. Others did from their slender salaries hire teams and a driver and then came twenty miles across country to attend the meetings. These could hardly be expected to keep that up indefinitely. Then, too, the weather combined to make conditions as bad as possible. One teacher came thirty miles to attend a meeting when the air was blinding with snowflakes and the drifts were kneedeep. She ought not to have come. Ultimately the principal felt sorrier for those rural teachers than he did for the lack of agriculture in the schools, so ceased holding meetings in the winter months. Another plan will be devised next year.

A course of ten evening lectures for farmers was projected during the winter months. The school could not give a short course of any description during school hours because there were not teachers enough.

It is not possible personally to teach in two places at once. The solution appeared to be a course of evening lectures, although there did not seem to be any definite demand for such a series. Persons being asked if a course would succeed said they did not know, or else that "maybe they would attend once or twice." It was decided to make the attempt, although the principal, who was to be the lecturer, was seriously advised to limit the projected course to five instead of ten lectures, because a failure would then be less disastrously apparent.

It was decided to lecture on "Soils and Fertilizers"; not that the principal knew more of that than other branches, but because the people seemed to know less and wanted the information. A new issue of posters was printed setting forth the time, date and place and subject of the lectures, and these were placarded all over the county. The lectures were to be illustrated by experiments continued throughout almost all the course. Although alphabetically simple to the chemist, physicist and soil technologist, the experiments vitally interested the people. Those lamp chimneys and Bunsen flames hypnotically held the folks while the talk went on. Outlines for each lecture were made by mimeograph and distributed to each person. The audience was requested always to bring the previous outlines to the lectures for reference. The evenings were understood to be serious affairs, designed for those who wanted to know and not as an entertainment for the curious. As projected they were for men, but the women asked to be allowed to attend, and many did so throughout the course. The first lecture was attended by sixty persons, the second by ninety, the third by one hundred, and so on. For the entire course, good or bad weather included, the attendance averaged one

hundred and twenty-five persons for each lecture, and this in an open farming country where practically every one had to drive through the dark over ice, snow and slush. There was no doubt about the success of the undertaking. At a spring meeting of a farmers' club a question was asked about the advisability of a certain soil treatment. At once came the answer from another farmer, " If you had attended the lectures last winter at the agricultural high school, you would not have to ask that; you would *know*."

During the second year the winter lecture course was on " Dairying " and was given with at least equal success.

After the close of the course of lectures, a Corn Congress was planned, corn being one of the chief crops of the county. Nothing of the kind had ever been held in the state before, but therein lay its charm. The affair was to last two days, with morning, afternoon and evening sessions of addresses each day. Speakers were secured from the National Department of Agriculture and from the Maryland State College and Experiment Station. Twelve speakers, some of the best in the country, held forth at the series of six sessions. All the addresses were directly on corn growing and cooking, for the women, too, had addresses and demonstrations. Posters, again, were issued, always printed in red on white paper, — the school colors, — and all persons, clubs, granges and schools were invited to enter an exhibit of ten ears of corn in the show. It was pointed out again to the principal that there were only enough persons in the neighborhood to make one good-sized audience, and that while they might attend a single session they would not come to more. The result would thus be that either all would attend the best advertised address and leave the others to be given to empty seats, or else that there would be only a few people at all sessions. The outcome was different, for all sessions were well attended. People came and stayed throughout the two days, only going home to sleep. In all, over one hundred and eighty exhibitors sent in ten or more ears of corn, and almost one thousand persons attended the sessions. Twenty rural schools held small preliminary shows of their own and sent the best exhibits to the Corn Congress. Simultaneous meetings in different parts of the same building were held for men, women and children. Although seats were at a premium, it only added to the interest. Meals were served at a lunch counter by the ladies of the women's club, who again came to the aid of the school, giving the proceeds to the school treasury. For the corn show, only ribbon prizes were bestowed, although the city stores would have been willing to contribute cook stoves, carpet sweepers, washing machines, and like articles for prizes; yet, because the school believes in amateur rather than professional sports, the ribbons alone were the prizes. At the close of the last session the prize exhibits of

corn were sold at auction to the highest bidders. By this means good seed corn was distributed throughout the neighborhood. The Corn Congress was a success. Everybody is getting ready for a bigger, better and busier one this year.

For the women a series of monthly meetings was held on Saturday afternoons. Using the card list again, postal cards were sent out to three hundred women living within driving distance of the school. The three school wagons were run over the regular routes to bring them to the meetings. Thus many women who would have been unable, because of the farm work, to secure a man and a team to take them to the school were enabled to attend. The meetings opened by a general session at which one person spoke for fifteen minutes. This person was always some one of prominence and ability, some one vitally concerned in the world's work. The address was followed by music. The musicians and speakers have always willingly contributed their services, and usually came from the city. Following the general meeting, the women divided into four groups, which were self-chosen and continuous throughout the year; at the end of each year the groups change.

The first group is for the study of domestic science. The women do not attend a demonstration, but each works with the individual equipment placed at her disposal. Nickel-plated cook stoves, bright pans and clean china add to the attractiveness of the work. It is the same type of study given the children.

The second group does carpentry in the manual training room. The women are taught to saw, plane, hammer and do other simpler operations. It will not be necessary for those women to wait until their husbands find time to build the chicken coops.

The third group is known as the group in home crafts. Instruction is given in chair caning, rug weaving, Indian basketry, stenciling, etc.

The fourth group takes up a study of modern literature. It is designed for those persons who prefer to find in the meetings a rest and relaxation rather than a means of industry. Various modern authors are successively considered, with readings from each. Recently other groups have been formed in millinery, embroidery and dress fitting.

The meetings have had an average attendance of one hundred at each meeting and are well filling the place for which they were intended.

A literary society was formed for young people in the neighborhood who happened to be too old to go to school. The society meets once in two weeks and has a membership of about one hundred persons who pay dues for its maintenance. Spelling bees, debates and other so-called literary exercises are held, and serve to engender a better neighborhood spirit, while enlivening the long winter evenings.

A reading circle on the Chautauqua plan meets every two weeks, an interesting offshoot of the main society.

During the summer the school conducts experiments on the home farms of its pupils. All boys in the high school department are expected to perform at home an experiment of their own selection during the summer vacation. This is in order to bring the work of the school to the people at large as well as concretely to emphasize the instruction of the winter in the mind of the student. The experiments, scattered over a territory twenty-five miles long by five miles broad, attract much attention among the neighbors, and are an efficient demonstration of agricultural ideas. They range over many subjects according to the choice of the student. Many are variety tests of corn from seed furnished by the school, the corn being grown under modern methods by the student. Other students are testing herds of dairy cows, weighing and recording the milk at each milking and making frequent Babcock tests of the butter-fat content, while still others conduct a variety test of cowpeas or of popcorn. The experiments are closely watched from the school, the principal visiting them frequently during the summer and advising the students concerning them. This brings the principal in touch with the home life of the students and gives the boys the impetus necessary, sometimes, to carry on a flagging experiment.

In the second year the experimental work of the school grew enormously. Because of the tests conducted during the first summer, the school found it wise to continue largely the variety tests of corn. In the first year four varieties of corn were given to each of fifteen students in the school, and these tested under identical conditions with the home variety of corn. To the surprise of the teacher, every one of the four varieties supplied surpassed in yield the home variety, and in all instances Boone County White, one of the varieties tested, resulted best of all.

In consequence, it was thought well to start Boone County White at many places throughout the county. In addition it was determined to conduct extensive variety tests with potatoes and to continue the other types of previous experiments. About one hundred and forty farmers applied for experiments and were supplied with seed obtained from the State Experiment Station, which thus materially assisted in the work.

Because of a prize of $50 offered for the best yield of an acre of corn raised by a boy under eighteen, there were ninety-six boys who applied for entrance to the contest, and these were each supplied with enough first quality Boone County White seed produced by the school to plant their acre. About one hundred other boys, who were unable to secure a whole acre, asked to be allowed to raise corn and become

members of the Boys' Corn Club which the school now formed. They will exhibit the best ten ears at the Fall Corn Congress. In rural schools all over the county the boys' corn clubs are formed or forming, each having a radius of two miles. These clubs are leagued together in a county association, with its headquarters at the Agricultural High School. During the second summer the principal again supervised all the experimental acres of corn, numbering in all over two hundred.

The school test seeds and milk for farmers. During the early spring months many samples of clover seed were submitted for a decision of the weed seeds present and of the germinative ability of the sample. Throughout the entire year milk and cream are tested for the butter-fat content. As many farmers in the neighborhood sell their product by the amount of butter fat contained, it is highly desirable that they have occasionally an authoritative test from a disinterested source with which to compare the tests made by the dealer. The school furnishes the test.

With the activities throughout the neighborhood emanating from the new school, it was but natural that there should be a renewed activity along lines of religious organizations. A long disused chapel was opened, a committee of ten young men was appointed by the principal, and regular Sunday night meetings for young people were held. The people looked naturally to the school to form the organization, supply the enthusiasm and lead in the work. About one hundred young people attended the meetings, which were undenominational in character and marked by their enthusiasm.

The community work of the school has not proved of unusual difficulty, nor has it disclosed obstacles which make it prohibitive for any school anywhere. On the contrary, the work has proved easier than seemed possible and more successful than appeared probable. Many of the dilemmas conjured up by pessimistic advisers never materialized. From this experience it seems certain that every agricultural high school in the county — even those like this with a small faculty, small funds and small buildings — can make a success of community work.

Thus, when developed to its full extent, the agricultural high school is more than a mere institution for the instruction of children. It is an educational force for the whole family, and a social, cultural and ethical center for the entire community. The expansion of the country high school into an agricultural high school is more than the addition of subjects to the curriculum and a change in name. It is an entire change in the point of view. Educators are beginning to see that ultimately one of the greatest fields of work of the agricultural high schools may be with that portion of the community which does

not usually attend school at all and for which the school funds are not usually appropriated. It is by its work with the community at large — with the men and women on the farms — that the agricultural high school may find its strongest claim on popular attention and its greatest field for vital service.

B. H. Crocheron, Principal of the Agricultural High School of Baltimore County, Maryland. Revised and enlarged by the author from an article first published in the *Tenth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. To what extent does the agricultural high school offer a solution to the problem of adapting rural education to rural life?
2. Advantages of work of such a school over that carried on merely through small isolated country schools.
3. Advantages and disadvantages of the consolidation of country schools.
4. What is to be said against having the consolidated school in a village or town?
5. Character of the consolidation effected in Ohio, Indiana, Nebraska, Illinois, etc.? Cf. *Bulletin No. 332* of the U. S. Dept. of Agriculture.
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CHAPTER IV

THE SOCIAL RELATIONS OF HOME AND SCHOOL

Introduction: Home and School

THE efficiency of the school as a social agency in the larger sense depends in a great degree upon the closeness of its contact and coöperation with the home. Historically there are the best of reasons for an intimate relationship. The primitive home had a large share in the education of the child. If the complex and insistent economic needs of the modern household have forced it to give up some of its educational functions, it should not be the less interested in the work of those to whom these functions have been delegated. Even though taken from the home, the successful education of the child physically, intellectually and morally depends upon the home's sympathy and support. The tendency of the school to lose touch with the home, its interests and its point of view, is simply another aspect of the tendency noted in an earlier chapter: namely, that of all institutions to acquire an inertia and an irresponsiveness to the general social body which they exist to serve.

Thus the home and the school have often drifted far apart. The former, relieved of the routine of instruction, assumes that the school is doing its duty, and while acutely interested in the outcome, often becomes indifferent to the detailed problems and methods of the school. Sometimes the home even imagines its interests are antagonistic to the ideals of the school, and hostility latent or active develops. Lack of interest and of understanding — not to speak of hostility — cannot but seriously interfere with the efficiency of instruction.

In the pioneer days of our country the teacher was much more one of the people than he is to-day. He lived among them, often boarding for a time in each family. From many different points of view, he

was an important factor in the life of the community. The teacher of to-day, especially in the city, has little opportunity to acquire this intimate knowledge of the homes of his pupils. Even in the smaller communities, where he should know the people well, he is often never received into the parents' homes.

The task of bringing the home and the school together into some sort of active coöperative relationship, or at least developing a mutual understanding between them, is one of the problems of the larger view of education current to-day. It is recognized that the agencies of public education may properly extend their work of instruction to the adult members of the community. The bringing of parent and school together is a part of this work of school extension. It is socially important, not merely because it is enlightening to the parent, but because it makes directly for greater efficiency within the school itself. It is socially important for the home and school to come together, not merely because it may be enlightening to the parent, but also because it may broaden the teacher's point of view. "The teacher very much needs the stimulus and the enlightenment that comes from a comprehensive knowledge of the home life of his pupils. It is evident, also, that the teacher's restricted life and petty cares tend to narrow his vision and to inhibit his imagination. His attention is so focused that he often fails to grasp the larger life of the community in which he lives and which the school is organized to serve."[1] The school can scarcely be of great social service unless the teachers study the life of the community, mingle freely with the people, and by sympathetic contact with parents and homes learn something of the conditions under which school children are reared and something of the training they require for the life they will have to lead.

On the other hand, a democratic community needs to have its imagination quickened as to the needs of the school. Only thus can needed equipment be readily secured and the highest standard in the teaching force be maintained. An educated public sentiment is a support to a good school board and a check to an inefficient one.

These are various ways of bringing to pass a proper coöperation of home and school. First of all, there are the informal visits of parents to the school, either to see the work of the classes or to consult

[1] E. J. Goodwin, "School and Home," *School Review*, 16: 320.

with principal or superintendent. "The principal of the school has in his own hands the most simple and direct means of bringing the school and home into mutually helpful relations. He should have capacity for genuine friendships, and should seek thereby so to command the acquaintance and confidence of the community that visits of parents to the school may be made freely and frequently. Such visits are facilitated by invitations to inspect the classroom work on designated days, to be present at public exercises in the school gymnasium, to attend informal lantern-slide lectures given by a teacher upon some interesting phase of school instruction, to witness school debates, literary exercises and graduation ceremonies in which the speakers should be students of the school.

"Exhibits of school work yield unbounded delights to children, and no less pleasure to parents. They often unlock the door that bars the parent from entrance into his child's school life, which is so unlike that of the home and so apart from it that the child otherwise fails to get the parental encouragement and sympathetic guidance which at times he sorely needs." [1]

In some places provision is made for a "parents' night," it being easier for both fathers and mothers to come and inspect the work of the school in the evening than during the day. At such a time the regular work of the school is carried on, and afterwards simple refreshments are served. The children are then dismissed, and a brief conference of parents and teachers is held. For various reasons this plan is suited to the grammar and secondary school grades, rather than to those of the elementary period. In the George Dixon Secondary School of Birmingham, England, it has been a regular feature for a number of years. "The experience of every member of the staff shows emphatically that the benefit resulting from 'Parents' Nights' has been much greater than was ever expected." This school sends out invitations to the parents once or twice a year, and the response has always been excellent.[2]

"But the most effective and permanent means of promoting close relationship and sympathy between the school and the home are,

[1] E. J. Goodwin, "School and Home," *School Review*, 16: 327–328.

[2] W. S. Walton, "Parent and Schoolmaster in Education," *Westminster Review*, April, 1911, pp. 379–389.

doubtless, voluntary associations of parents which provide for an inductive study of local conditions and for concerted action. These associations in the congested districts of our large cities are multiplying rapidly and seem to be the outgrowth of an educational impulse not only to assist the work of the school, but to supplement it by manifesting an active interest in the children that come from homes of ignorance and poverty. Such organizations are doing a unique work in developing among parents a feeling of responsibility to coöperate with the school in the education of their children, and especially in disclosing the shortcomings of the school." [1]

The need for these associations of parents and teachers is as great in the smaller towns and even in the rural districts. As Garber says,[2] "Probably the most discouraging thing connected with the whole rural school problem is the indifference of the home. The new interest in agriculture is helping in a way. . . . It is quite clear that no teacher or teachers can alone make a good school. The interests of the child demand the interest of the home. For, after all, the child finds its most impelling forces in the place and in the persons where its earliest instincts are most firmly embedded. And father's or mother's word, or evidence of their approval or disapproval, can make or mar much that is done in the school."

Two types of meetings should be provided for by the parent-teacher associations, one in which all the parents and teachers of a school come together "for a social time and to hear and discuss a paper on some subject of mutual interest," and another, in which each grade teacher meets the mothers of her particular group of children. One practical worker regards this individual grade meeting as "the very foundation of a successful parents' association, for it is here that we work out our ideals and accomplish that intimate intercourse between mother, teacher and child which is so vital to the work." [3] It is on the basis of the interest aroused in these grade meetings that the father's sympathies are enlisted and both parents attend the larger evening meetings of the entire association.

"Some teachers and school officials seem to be apprehensive lest these organizations may assume an unwarranted and meddlesome con-

[1] Goodwin, *op. cit.*, p. 328. [2] *Annals of Educational Progress in 1910*, p. 228.
[3] Mrs. Floyd Frazier, *School Review*, 16: 82.

trol over the organization and work of the school, but this is hardly to be feared for the reason that coöperation is their avowed purpose, and because the public opinion of a community will not justify a local association in a direct and radical interference with the established procedure of a public school.

"Associations of parents have already demonstrated their serviceableness within the field of school education. What they may do hereafter to weld together our heterogeneous population, to carry help and healing to the homes of the poor and unfortunate, and to make the school plant accessible for evening instruction to parents in the domestic arts and for social and literary entertainment to children and their parents, are questions that must be answered in the light of experiment and experience. That great good is in the way of accomplishment, there can be no doubt." [1]

Parents' Associations and the Public Schools

The formation of parents' associations connected with the schools is a part of the wider movement for the social utilization of the school plant. . . . This movement began with the kindergarten, which established the custom of holding mothers' meetings. In these meetings, the mothers and kindergartner talk over the children and discuss the functions of the home as related to those of the school. In many places, this mutual coöperation between kindergartner and mother has grown, until regularly organized mothers' clubs have been formed. These have much advantage over the mothers' meetings; for permanent organization brings with it permanent interest. Mothers' meetings and mothers' clubs, however, have not been limited to the kindergarten; they are also found in connection with the higher grades of the school. Moreover, the idea has grown until the mothers' clubs have developed into parents' meetings and parents' clubs or parents' associations, as they are called. Fathers, as well as mothers, have become interested in the work. These associations are not compulsory, but have generally been formed at the pleasure of the school principal, either by his own personal efforts or at the suggestion of parents or citizens.

Several women's organizations have become interested in this movement, and have been of material assistance to teachers and parents in getting them together. Probably the body which has accomplished the most in this direction is the National Congress of Mothers, which has

[1] Goodwin, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

for one of its chief aims the formation of mothers' clubs and parent-teacher associations. It has a state organizer in nearly every state in the Union, and many hundreds of clubs formed under its direction are doing most commendable work. Their object is, according to Article II of the constitution: "To bring into closer relation the home and the school; that parents and teachers may intelligently coöperate in the education of the child." Each association joins the National Congress of Mothers, which provides helpful literature on subjects of interest to parents and teachers, and also offers suggestive programs and speakers. . . .

Work of the Boston Associations. The parent-teacher associations, which perhaps come nearer than any others to the general idea of bringing school and community together, are those in Boston, which were established by the conference committee on moral education. The first was organized in May, 1905. . . .

"Its aims," says the annual report, "are threefold: to bring the home and the school together; to instruct the parents concerning the care of their children; and to promote the social interests of the neighborhood. To accomplish the first object, efforts have been made to acquaint the parent with the teacher's work in developing the child intellectually, physically and morally; and, on the other hand, to explain to the teacher the problems with which the parent has to deal. This has been brought about through talks, given by teachers and parents at the monthly meetings of the association, and by means of teas, held after every meeting where parents and teachers come together in a social way for interchange of thoughts.

These talks, which the report goes on to describe, seem remarkably comprehensive and pointed. Among those given by the teachers were brief explanations of the course of study and the aims of the teacher in physical and moral training, with particular emphasis on the necessity of coöperation between teachers and parents. Other topics were: Specific Instances in which the Parent can Coöperate with the Teacher; Cleanliness in the Schoolroom; How Children Spend their Evenings, and Cigarette Smoking among School Children.

Among the subjects presented by the parents, were: Fighting among boys, gambling, cigarette smoking, novel reading, theater going, spending pennies for cheap candy, playing in the street, etc. In consequence of some of these talks, a committee was appointed to find out what evening opportunities for amusement or education in the neighborhood were open to boys and girls. At a subsequent meeting this committee reported and recommended that the teachers inform their pupils of the places where they might go for healthful amusement and instruction.

At another meeting, one of the mothers spoke of the filthy condition of some of the streets, yards and vacant lots in the neighborhood, declaring "that dirt and disorder lower the morals of the children," and a committee was subsequently appointed to make an investigation, and to recommend improvements. "Through these talks," the report says, "the parents have become more familiar with the teacher's problems, and the teacher has learned to interpret the child from the parent's point of view."

Instructing the fathers and mothers. Not only, however, have these meetings brought the home and school into happy coöperation, they have also fulfilled the second object of this association; namely, "to instruct the parents concerning the care of their children." The main address at each meeting was devoted to such instruction. During the year, there were five lectures on the physical development of the child and two on the moral welfare. Three of these on the physical development were given by the medical inspector of the district. These lectures have proved an efficient agency for giving medical instruction to the parents. That they have helped the medical inspector in the performance of his duties, thereby making inspection a live issue in this community, is proved by personal testimony. . . .

The enthusiasm in all these associations is gratifying. "Why haven't we had them before?" is constantly being asked. The mothers are glad to assume much of the responsibility in carrying on the work, and take a great deal of pride in making the teas pretty and attractive. Too much cannot be said of the value of the teas. Here, everybody is expected to speak to everybody else, and over a cup of tea, which seems to have a magic charm for producing cordiality and geniality, the teachers and parents mingle; grievances vanish, and many a hard boy or girl has been converted into a helpful, conscientious pupil as a result of a friendly chat at one of these teas. . . .

The whole result of this work in Boston seems to demonstrate conclusively that these organizations supply a real need in the educational system. What these associations have done in their own localities indicates what similar organizations may do for the other school districts. Being a part of the general movement for the social utilization of the schools, and having a definite, distinct function to perform in this movement, they should not spring up by chance; nor should their activities be left to the accidental enthusiasm of a teacher or parent. The underlying principles of every parent-teacher association should be alike; they should aim to elevate the intellectual and social life of the community. It is evident, of course, that the specific problems of each association will be peculiar to the district in which it has been formed. What would elevate one neighborhood might have no application whatever to another. It suggests itself, therefore,

that there should be some recognized authority in every city to organize and guide parent-teacher associations. Logically, every school district of the city should be represented in such an organization, which shall deal with the intellectual and social problems peculiar to the district.

Since these associations are so intimately connected with the school system, they would most naturally come under the direction of the school committee, which is the guiding force in all the other forms of educational endeavor. The school committee should use its good offices to create among the parents and teachers of a school district a sentiment in favor of establishing a forum for the exchange of ideas on the intellectual and social development of the district. And further they should provide the facilities for the consummation of the plan. Schoolhouses should be placed at the disposal of parent-teacher associations; lecture service should be provided out of the school funds, and such printed matter as constitution and by-laws, invitations to meetings and annual reports should be issued by the school committee at the request of the association. There are many other ways in which a school committee can further such organizations — by furnishing the facilities for the tea, or the paraphernalia for an entertainment — without assuming a controlling attitude. The parent-teacher association would become a preëminently democratic institution — an organizer of enlightened public opinion on all educational matters. The combined force of all these associations in a city would constitute an educational support, invaluable to a body chosen by the people to watch over and direct their educational interests.

Fannie Fern Andrews, in *Charities and the Commons*, 17: 335, 1906–1907. Courtesy Charities Publication Committee.

PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION AND STUDY

1. State the various influences in different communities which have tended to keep the school and the home apart.
2. State the possible objections to parent-teacher associations.
3. Summarize carefully the advantages that have actually been noted. To what extent do you think they might be realized everywhere?
4. Write out a brief description of a community known to you, showing the extent to which it might be benefited by a closer association of school and home. Specify the means you might properly use to get an association organized, the objections you would probably meet with, and how you would seek to overcome them.
5. From your various readings and observations, make a list of subjects which might properly be discussed in an association of parents and teachers.

6. Examine the available reports of superintendents and boards of education of large cities to determine the extent to which the associations of parents and teachers are currently developed. Note carefully variations in methods and aims.

7. Look up the work in Texas, in which state the idea of home and school associations is said to have been developed further than anywhere else.

8. Describe the "Parents' Night" of the George Dixon School, Birmingham, England. (See *Westminster Review*, April, 1911, p. 379.)

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CHAPTER V

THE SCHOOL AS A CENTER OF THE SOCIAL LIFE OF THE COMMUNITY

The School as a Social Center

IN this paper I shall confine myself to the philosophy of the school as a social center. But at the same time I do not feel that the philosophical aspect of the matter is the urgent or important one. The pressing thing, the significant thing, is really to make the school a social center; that is, a matter of practice, not of theory. Just what to do in order to make the schoolhouse a center of full and adequate social service, to bring it completely into the current of social life, — such are the matters I am sure which really deserve the attention of the public and that occupy your own minds.

It is possible, however, and conceivably useful to ask ourselves: What is the meaning of the popular demand in this direction? Why should the community in general, and those particularly interested in education in especial, be so unusually sensitive at just this period of this need? Why should the lack be more felt now than a generation ago? What forces are stirring that awaken such speedy and favorable response to the notion that the school as a place of instruction for children is not performing its full function — that it needs also to operate as a center of life for all ages and classes?

A brief historic retrospect will put before us the background of the present situation. The function of education, since anything which might pass by that name was found among savage tribes, has been social. The particular organ or structure, however, through which this aim was observed, and the nature of its adjustment to other social institutions, has varied according to the peculiar condition of the given time. The general principle of evolution, development from the undifferentiated toward the formation of distinct organs on the principle of division of labor, stands out clearly in a survey of educational history. At the outset there was no school as a separate institution. The educative processes were carried on in the ordinary play of family and community life. As the ends to be reached by education became more numerous and remote, and the means employed more specialized, it was necessary, however, for society to develop a distinct institution. Only in this way could the special need be adequately attended to. In this way developed the schools carried on by great philosophical organizations of antiquity — the Platonic, Stoic, Epi-

curean, etc. — then came schools as a phase of the work of the church. Finally, with the increasing separation of church and state, the latter asserted itself as the proper founder and supporter of educational institutions; and the modern type of public, or at least quasi-public, school developed. There are many who regard the transfer of this educational function from the church to the state as more than a matter for regret — they conceive of it as a move which, if persisted in, will result disastrously to the best and permanent interests of mankind. But I take it we are not called upon today to reckon with this class, large and important as it may be. I assume that practically all here are believers in the principle of state education — even if we should not find it entirely easy to justify our faith on logical or philosophical grounds. The reason for referring to this claiming by the state of the education function is to indicate that it was in continuance of the policy of specialization or division of labor.

With the development of the state has come a certain distinction between state and society. As I use these terms, I mean by "State" the organization of the resources of community life through governmental machinery of legislation and administration. I mean by "Society" the less definite and freer play of the forces of the community which goes on in the daily intercourse and contact of men in an endless variety of ways that have nothing to do with politics or government or the state in any institutional sense. Now, the control of education by the state inevitably carried with it a certain segregation of the machinery of both school administration and instruction from the freer, more varied and more flexible modes of social intercourse. So true is this that for a long time the school was occupied exclusively with but one function, the purveying of intellectual material to a certain number of selected minds. Even when the democratic impulse broke into the isolated department of the school, it did not effect a complete reconstruction, but only the addition of another element. This was preparation for citizenship. The meaning of this phrase, "preparation for citizenship," shows precisely what I have in mind by the difference between the school as an isolated thing, related to the state alone, and the school as a thoroughly socialized affair in contact at all points with the flow of community life. Citizenship, to most minds, means a distinctly political thing. It is defined in terms of relation to the government, not to society in its broader aspects. To be able to vote intelligently, to take such share as might be in the conduct of public legislation and administration, — that has been the significance of the term.

Now our community life has suddenly awakened; and in awakening it has found that governmental institutions and affairs represent

only a small part of the important purposes and difficult problems of life; and that even that fraction cannot be dealt with adequately except in the light of a wide range of domestic, economic and scientific considerations quite excluded from the conception of the state, of citizenship. We find that our political problems involve race questions, questions of the assimilation of diverse types of language and custom; we find that most serious political questions grow out of underlying industrial and commercial changes and adjustments; we find that most of our pressing political problems cannot be solved by special measures of legislation or executive activity, but only by the promotion of common sympathies and a common understanding. We find, moreover, that the solution of the difficulties must go back to a more adequate scientific comprehension of the actual facts and relations involved. The isolation between state and society, between the government and the institutions of family, business life, etc., is breaking down. We realize the thin artificial character of the separation. We begin to see that we are dealing with the complicated interaction of varied and vital forces, only a few of which can be pigeonholed as governmental. The content of the term "citizenship" is broadening; it is coming to mean all the relationships of all sorts that are involved in membership in a community.

This of itself would tend to develop a sense of something absent in the existing type of education, something defective in the service rendered by the school. Change the image of what constitutes citizenship, and you change the image of what is the purpose of the school. Change this, and you change the picture of what the school should be doing and of how it should be doing it. The feeling that the school is not doing all that it should do in simply giving instruction during the day to a certain number of children of different ages, the demand that it shall assume a wider scope of activities having an educative effect upon the adult members of the community, had its basis just here: We are feeling everywhere the organic unity of the different modes of social life, and consequently demand that the school shall be related more widely, shall receive from more quarters, and shall give in more directions.

As I have already intimated, the older idea of the school was that its primary concern was with the inculcation of certain facts and truths from the intellectual point of view, and the acquisition of certain forms of skill. When the school became public or common, this notion was broadened to include whatever would make the citizen a more capable and righteous voter and legislator; but it was still thought that this end would be reached along the line of intellectual instruction. To teach children the Constitution of the United States, the nature and working of various parts of gov-

ernmental machinery, from the nation through the state and county down to the township and the school district, to teach such things was thought to prepare the pupil for citizenship. And so some fifteen or twenty years ago, when the feeling arose that the schools were not doing all that they should be doing for our life as a whole, this consciousness expressed itself in a demand for a more thorough and extensive teaching of civics. To my mind the demand for the school as a social center bears the same ratio to the situation which confronts us to-day, as the movement for civics bore to the conditions of half a generation ago. We have awakened to deeper aspects of the question; we have seen that the machinery of governmental life is after all but a machinery, and depends for its rightness and efficiency upon underlying social and industrial causes. We have lost a good deal of our faith in the efficacy of purely intellectual instruction.

Some four specific developments may be mentioned as having a bearing upon the question of the school as a social center. The first of these is the much increased efficiency and ease of all the agencies that have to do with bringing people into contact with one another. Recent inventions have so multiplied and cheapened the means of transportation, and the circulation of ideas and news through books, magazines and papers, that it is no longer physically possible for one nationality, race, class or sect to be kept apart from others, impervious to their wishes and beliefs. Cheap and rapid long-distance transportation has made America a meeting place for all the peoples and tongues of the world. The centralization of industry has forced members of classes into the closest association with, and dependence upon, each other. Bigotry, intolerance, or even an unswerving faith in the superiority of one's own religious and political creed are much shaken when individuals are brought face to face with each other, or have the ideas of others continuously and forcibly placed before them. The congestion of our city life is only one aspect of the bringing of people together which modern inventions have induced.

That many dangers result from sudden dislocations of people from the surroundings — physical, industrial and intellectual — to which they have become adapted; that great instability may accompany this sudden massing of heterogeneous peoples, goes without saying. On the other hand, these very agencies present instrumentalities of which advantage may be taken. The best as well as the worst of modern newspapers is a product. The organized public library with its facilities for reaching all classes of people is an effect. The popular assembly and lyceum is another. No educational system can be regarded as complete until it adapts itself into the various ways in which social and intellectual intercourse may be promoted; and employs them systematically, not only to counteract dangers which these

same agencies are bringing with them, but so as to make them positive causes in raising the whole level of life.

Both the demand and the opportunity are increased in our large cities by the commingling of classes and races. It is said that one ward in the city of Chicago has forty different languages represented in it. It is a well-known fact that some of the largest Irish, German and Bohemian cities in the world are located in America, not in their own countries. The power of the public schools to assimilate different races to our institutions, through the education given to the younger generation, is doubtless one of the most remarkable exhibitions of vitality that the world has ever seen. But, after all, it leaves the older generation still untouched; and the assimilation of the younger can hardly be complete or certain as long as the homes of the parents remain comparatively unaffected. Indeed, wise observers in both New York City and Chicago have recently sounded a note of alarm. They have called attention to the fact that in some respects the children are too rapidly, I will not say Americanized, but too rapidly de-nationalized. They lose the positive and conservative value of their own native traditions, their own native music, art and literature. They do not get complete initiation into the customs of their new country, and so are frequently left floating and unstable between the two. They even learn to despise the dress, bearing, habits, language and beliefs of their parents — many of which have more substance and worth than the superficial putting on of the newly adopted habits. If I understand aright, one of the chief motives in the development of the new labor museum at Hull House has been to show the younger generation something of the skill and art and historic meaning in the industrial habits of the older generations — modes of spinning, weaving, metal working, etc., discarded in this country because there was no place for them in our industrial system. Many a child has awakened to an appreciation of admirable qualities hitherto unknown in his father or mother for whom he had begun to entertain a contempt. Many an association of local history and past national glory had been awakened to quicken and enrich the life of the family.

In the second place, along with the increasing intercourse and interaction, with all its dangers and opportunities, there has come a relaxation of the bonds of social discipline and control. I suppose none of us would be willing to believe that the movement away from dogmatism and fixed authority was anything but a movement in the right direction. But no one can view the loosening of the power of the older religious and social authorities, without deep concern. We may feel sure that in time independent judgment, with the individual freedom and responsibility that go with it, will more than

make good the temporary losses. But meantime there is a temporary loss. Parental authority has much less influence in controlling the conduct of children. Reverence seems to decay on every side, and boisterousness and hoodlumism to increase. Flippancy toward parental and other forms of constituted authority waxes, while obedient orderliness wanes. The domestic ties themselves, as between husband and wife as well as in relation to children, lose something of their permanence and sanctity. The church, with its supernatural sanctions, its means of shaping the daily life of its adherents, finds its grasp slowly slipping away from it. We might as well frankly recognize that many of the old agencies for moralizing mankind, and of keeping them living decent, respectable and orderly lives, are losing in efficiency — particularly, those agencies which rested for their force upon custom, tradition, and unquestioning acceptance. It is impossible for society to remain purely a passive spectator in the midst of such a scene. It must search for other agencies with which it may repair the loss, and which may produce the results which the former methods are failing to secure. Here, too, it is not enough for society to confine its work to children. However much they may need the disciplinary training of a widened and enlightened education, the older generation needs it also. Besides, time is short — very short for the average child in the average city school. The work is hardly more than begun there, and unless it is largely to go for naught, the community must find methods of supplementing it and carrying it further outside the regular school channels.

In the third place, the intellectual life, facts and truths of knowledge are much more obviously and intimately connected with all other affairs of life than they ever have been at any previous period in the history of the world. Hence a purely and exclusively intellectual instruction means less than it ever meant before. And, again, the daily occupations and ordinary surroundings of life are much more in need of interpretation than ever they have been before. We might almost say that once there was a time when learning related almost wholly to a world outside and beyond that of the daily concerns of life itself. To study physics, to learn German, to become acquainted with Chinese history, were elegant accomplishments, but more or less useless from the standpoint of daily life. In fact, it is just this sort of idea which the term "culture" still conveys to many minds. When learning was useful, it was only to a comparatively small and particularly select class in the community. It was just something that the doctor or lawyer or clergyman needed in his particular calling, but so far away from and above the mass of mankind that it could only awaken their blind and submissive admiration. The recent public lament regarding the degradation of the teacher's calling is,

to my mind, just a reminiscence of the time when to know enough to be a teacher was something which of itself set off the individual in a special class by himself. It fails to take account of the changes which have put knowledge in common circulation, and made it possible for every one to be a teacher in some respect unto his neighbor.

Under modern conditions, practically every sphere of learning, whether of social or natural science, may impinge at once, and at any point, upon the conduct of life. German is not a fact, knowledge of which makes a distinction between a man and his fellow, but a mode of social and business intercourse. Physics is no longer natural philosophy — something concerned with remarkable discoveries about important but very remote laws; it is a set of facts which, through the applications of heat and electricity to our ordinary surroundings, constantly come home to us. Physiology, bacteriology, anatomy, concern our individual health and the sanitation of our cities. Their facts are exploited in sensational, if not scientific, ways in the daily newspapers. And so we might go through the whole schedule of studies, once so foreign and alien, and show how intimately concerned they now are with commonplace life. The simple fact is, that we are living in an age of applied science. It is impossible to escape the influence, direct and indirect, of the applications.

On the other hand, life is getting so specialized, the divisions of labor are carried so far, that nothing explains or interprets itself. The worker in a modern factory who is concerned with a fractional piece of a complex activity, present to him only in a limited series of acts carried on with a distinct portion of a machine, is typical of much in our entire social life. The old worker knew something of his process and business as a whole. If he did not come into personal contact with all of it, the whole was so small and so close to him that he was acquainted with it. He was thus aware of the meaning of the particular part of the work which he himself was doing. He saw and felt it as a vital part of the whole, and his horizon was extended. The situation is now opposite. Most people are doing particular things of whose exact reasons and relationships they are only dimly aware. The whole is so vast, so complicated, so technical, that it is next to out of the question to get any direct acquaintanceship with it. Hence we must rely upon instruction; upon interpretations that come to us through conscious channels. One of the great motives for the flourishing of some great technical correspondence schools of the present day is not only the utilitarian desire to profit by preparation for better positions, but an honest eagerness to know something more of the great forces which condition the particular work one is doing, and to get an insight into those broad relations which are so partially, yet tantalizingly, hinted at. The same is true of the growing interest in forms

of popular science, which forms a marked portion of the stock in trade of some of the best and most successful of our modern monthly magazines. This same motive added much to the effectiveness of the university extension movement, particularly in England. It creates a particular demand for a certain type of popular illustrated lecture. Unless the lives of a large part of our wage earners are to be left to their own barren meagerness, the community must see to it by some organized agency that they are instructed in the scientific foundation and social bearings of the things they see about them, and of the activities in which they are themselves engaging.

The fourth point of demand and opportunity is the prolongation, under modern conditions, of continuous instruction. We have heard much of the significance of prolonged infancy in relation to education. It has become almost a part of our pedagogical creed that premature engagement in the serious vocations of life is detrimental to full growth. There is a corollary to this proposition which has not yet received equal recognition. Only where social occupations are well defined, and of a pretty permanent type, can the period of instruction be cut short at any particular period. It is commonly recognized that a doctor or a lawyer must go on studying all his life, if he is to be a successful man in his profession. The reason is obvious enough. Conditions about him are highly unstable; new problems present themselves; new facts obtrude. Previous study of law, no matter how thorough and accurate the study, did not provide for these new situations. Hence the need of continual study. There are still portions of country where the lawyer practically prepares himself before he enters upon his professional career. All he has to do afterward is to perfect himself in certain finer points, and get skill in the manipulation of what he already knows. But these are the more backward and unprogressive sections, where change is gradual and infrequent, and so the individual prepared once is prepared always.

Now, what is true of the lawyer and the doctor in the more progressive sections of the country, is true to a certain extent of all sorts and degrees of people. Social, economic and intellectual conditions are changing at a rate undreamed of in past history. Now, unless the agencies of instruction are kept running more or less parallel with these changes, a considerable body of men is bound to find itself without the training which will enable it to adapt itself to what is going on. It will be left stranded and become a burden for the community to carry. Where progress is continuous and certain, education must be equally certain and continuous. The youth at eighteen may be educated so as to be ready for the conditions which will meet him at nineteen; but he can hardly be prepared for those

which are to confront him when he is forty-five. If he is ready for the latter when they come, it will be because his own education has been keeping pace in the intermediate years. Doubtless conversation, social intercourse, observation and reflection upon what one sees going on about one, the reading of magazines and books, will do much; they are important, even if unorganized, methods of continuous education. But they can hardly be expected to do all, and hence they do not relieve the community from the responsibility of providing, through the school as a center, a continuous education for all classes of whatever age.

The fourfold need, and the fourfold opportunity, which I have hastily sketched, defines to some extent the work of the school as a social center.

It must provide, at least, part of that training which is necessary to keep the individual properly adjusted to a rapidly changing environment. It must interpret to him the intellectual and social meaning of the work in which he is engaged; that is, must reveal its relations to the life and work of the world. It must make up to him in part for the decay of dogmatic and fixed methods of social discipline. It must supply him compensation for the loss of reverence and influence of authority. And, finally, it must provide means for bringing people and their ideas and beliefs together, in such ways as will lessen friction and instability and introduce deeper sympathy and wider understanding.

In what ways shall the school as a social center perform these various tasks? To answer this question in anything like detail is to pass from my allotted sphere of philosophy into that of practical execution. But it comes within the scope of a theoretical consideration to indicate certain general lines. First, there is mixing people up with each other; bringing them together under wholesome influences, and under conditions which will promote their getting acquainted with the best side of each other. I suppose whenever we are framing our ideals of the school as a social center, what we think of is particularly the better class of social settlements. What we want is to see the school, every public school, doing something of the same sort of work that is now done by a settlement or two scattered at wide distances through the city. And we all know that the work of such an institution as Hull House has been primarily, not that of conveying intellectual instruction, but of being a social clearing house. It is a place where ideas and beliefs may be exchanged, not merely in the arena of formal discussion, — for argument alone breeds misunderstanding and fixes prejudice, — but in ways where ideas are incarnated in human form and clothed with the winning grace of personal life. Classes for study may be numerous, but all are regarded as modes

of bringing people together, of doing away with barriers of caste, or class, or race, or type of experience that keep people from real communion with each other.

The function of the school as a social center in promoting social meetings for social purposes, suggests at once another function — provision and direction of reasonable forms of amusement and recreation. The social club, the gymnasium, the amateur theatrical representation, the concert, the stereopticon lecture, — these are agencies the force of which social settlements have long known, and which are coming into use wherever anything is doing in the way of making schools social centers. I sometimes think that recreation is the most overlooked and neglected of all ethical forces. Our whole Puritan tradition tends to make us slight this side of life, or even condemn it. But the demand for recreation, for enjoyment, is one of the strongest and most fundamental things in human nature. To pass it over is to invite it to find its expression in defective and perverted form. The brothel, the saloons, the low dance house, the gambling den, the trivial, inconsiderate and demoralizing associations which form themselves on every street corner, are the answer of human nature to the neglect, on the part of supposed moral leaders, of this factor in human nature. I believe that there is no force more likely to count in the general reform of social conditions than the practical recognition that in recreation there is a positive moral influence which it is the duty of the community to take hold of and direct.

In the third place, there ought to be some provision for a sort of continuous social selection of a somewhat specialized type — using "specialized," of course, in a relative sense. Our cities carried on evening schools long before anything was said or heard of the school as a social center. These were intended to give instruction in the rudiments to those who had little or no early opportunities. So far they were and are good. But what I have in mind is something of a more distinctly advanced and selective nature. To refer once more to the working model upon which I am pretty continuously drawing, in the activities of Hull House we find provision made for classes in music, drawing, clay modeling, joinery, metal working, and so on. There is no reason why something in the way of scientific laboratories should not be provided for those who are particularly interested in problems of mechanics or electricity; and so the list might be continued. Now the obvious operation of such modes of instruction is to pick out and attract to itself those individuals who have particular ability in any particular line. There is a vast amount of unutilized talent dormant all about us. Many an individual has capacity within himself of which he is only dimly conscious, because he has never had an opportunity for expressing it.

He is not only losing the satisfaction of employment, but society suffers from this wasted capital. The evils of unearned increment are as nothing beside those of the undiscovered resource. In time, I am confident the community will recognize it as a natural and necessary part of its own duty — quite as much as is now giving instruction to little children — to provide such opportunities for adults as will enable them to discover and carry to some point of fulfillment the particular capacities that distinguish them.

In conclusion, we may say that the conception of the school as a social center is born of our entire democratic movement. Everywhere we see signs of the growing recognition that the community owes to each one of its members the fullest opportunity for development. Everywhere we see the growing recognition that the community life is defective and distorted, excepting as it does thus care for all its constituent parts. This is no longer viewed as a matter of charity, but as a matter of justice — even of something higher and better than justice — a necessary phase of developing and growing life. Men will long dispute about material socialism, about socialism considered as a matter of distribution of the material resources of the community; but there is a socialism regarding which there can be no such dispute — socialism of the intelligence and of the spirit. To extend the range and the fullness of sharing in the intellectual and spiritual resources of the community is the very meaning of the community. Because the older type of education is not fully adequate to this task under changed conditions, we feel its lack, and demand that the school shall become a social center. The school as a social center means the active and organized promotion of this socialism of the intangible things of art, science and other modes of social intercourse.

John Dewey, reprinted from the *Report of the National Educational Association*, 1902, p. 373. Courtesy of the author.

Rochester Social Centers and Civic Clubs

Plan of the Work

The Social Center movement, being in its nature absolutely democratic, has been free to develop in actual realization whatever phases the needs, desires and good sense of the community might choose. And some of its greatest features, such, for instance, as the independent Civic Club development, have been quite spontaneous and not at all prearranged. Yet in the great essentials of plan and policy there has been no change from the beginning.

On July 5, 1907, a joint meeting of the Board of Education and the School Extension Committee was held. At this meeting the whole

matter of the policy of the Social Centers was thoroughly discussed, and the plans of the work were definitely laid. In that meeting it was decided that the spirit which should be striven for in the Social Centers should be the democratic, friendly spirit of broad acquaintanceship, which made "The Little Red Schoolhouse" in the country the fine community gathering place that it was. About this time there appeared in one of the magazines an article upon the evening uses of the schoolhouse in a village community. In that article the kindly neighborhood spirit which was developed in these schoolhouse meetings, social and political, was described. In connection with this description the author asserted that there is no such spirit of community interest, no such neighborly feeling, no such democracy as the village had, in any American city, and that there never can be such a spirit of community interest, such a neighborly spirit, and such democracy, until some institution is developed in the midst of our complex city life in which people of all races, classes and parties shall find a common gathering place, a common means of acquaintance, an opportunity to learn to think in terms of the city as a whole — until there is developed an institution which shall serve the people in the city as the Little Red Schoolhouse served the folks back home. . . .

The Social Center was not to take the place of any existing institution; it was not to be a charitable medium for the service particularly of the poor; it was not to be a new kind of evening school; it was not to take the place of any church or other institution of moral uplift; it was not to serve simply as an "Improvement Association" by which the people in one community should seek only the welfare of their district; it was not to be a "Civic Reform" organization, pledged to some change in city or state or national administration; it was just to be the restoration of its true place in social life of that most American of all institutions, the Public School Center, in order that through this extended use of the school building might be developed, in the midst of our complex life, the community interest, the neighborly spirit, the democracy that we knew before we came to the city.

It was decided at that meeting that the Social Center should provide opportunities for physical activity by means of gymnasium equipment and direction, baths, etc.; opportunities for recreation, in addition to those which the gymnasium would offer, by the provision of various innocent table games; opportunities for intellectual activity by the provision of a library and reading room and by the giving of a lecture or entertainment at least once a week, while the essentially democratic, intimately social service of the Centers should be gained through the opportunities offered for the organization of self-governing clubs of men, of women, of boys and girls.

The use of the Social Centers for free, untrammeled discussion of public questions was carefully considered, and the fact was cited that the School Extension Committee had already gone over this matter and had passed a motion that " The committee should insist upon the free use of the school buildings chosen, for neighborhood meetings, even politics and religion not being tabooed." And this was decided as the rule that should maintain, because such freedom was, of course, essential to the development of an institution which shall serve the people in the city as the Little Red Schoolhouse served the folks back home.

The School Extension Committee had planned that the work should be carried on in several school buildings during the first year. When, however, it was decided that the money appropriated for this work should cover the expense of Playgrounds, Vacation Schools and Grammar School Athletics and that only a part of it should be devoted to Social Centers, it was seen that it would be impossible to completely equip more than one building, and the question was up for decision as to whether the plan should be tried out in one Center completely equipped and open every night in the week, or whether the work should be partially begun in several school buildings. After considering the various phases of the question, it was decided, in the meeting of July 5, to concentrate in one building, and at the same time to make tentative beginnings of club work, without special equipment, perhaps one night each week in a couple of other buildings.

To prevent the Social Center being regarded at its beginning as either a " kid glove " or a charitable institution, or anything less than a return to the country schoolhouse idea of a common gathering place for all sorts of people, it was decided that the first building to be chosen should be in as representative a district as possible, one in which neither the wealthy nor the poverty-stricken predominated, one in which there were both native- and foreign-born Americans, one in which the wide diversity of city life was well illustrated. With this idea in mind, No. 14 School Building was selected. Perhaps more than any other school building in Rochester, this one is located, geographically and socially, in midground of city life. It stands about halfway between East Avenue and Davis Street. There are in its neighborhood many of the early residents of Rochester, and there are also many newly arrived citizens from foreign shores; many races, most of the religious, political and social groups in the city, are here represented. To quote from the first published statement regarding the Social Centers printed in the bulletin issued November 7, 1907, " The first Social Center is established here in a representative district, neither overrich nor poor, but where people live who are self-respecting and capable, comfortably well-to-do, the kind

of people who make the real strength and brain of our American life."

The parts of the building which it was decided should be used for the Social Center were the assembly hall on the third floor, which was to serve five nights each week as a gymnasium and one night for an auditorium; the kindergarten room on the ground floor, which was to be used as a reading and quiet game room; and the art and physics rooms of the Normal School, which were to serve for club meetings. The first step in the equipping of the building was the installation of iron gates shutting off the parts of the building which were not to be used for the Social Center. The next was the equipping of the gymnasium. One side of the assembly hall was to be used for a basket-ball court; on the other side a horizontal bar, parallel bars, horse, ladder, flying and traveling rings, climbing ropes and poles, and mats for tumbling and wrestling were installed. In addition to this equipment, dumb-bells, Indian clubs, wands and boxing gloves, were procured. It would have been most desirable to have installed shower baths in connection with the gymnasium and on the same floor. As it was impossible to do this, they were installed in a room on the ground floor in connection with the cloakroom of the kindergarten, which was to be used as a dressing room. This completed the equipment for physical exercise. For the recreational activities, outside of the gymnasium, sixty chairs, a dozen tables and a dozen table games, such as chess and checkers, were procured. For the intellectual activities of the Center, a stereopticon lantern was secured to be used in connection with lectures, a library of five hundred volumes was borrowed from Albany, and subscriptions were taken for a dozen periodicals. For the social activities a set of cheap dishes was procured which could be used by the various clubs in the Social Center in serving refreshments, which these clubs might provide.

In some respects, No. 14 School Building was well fitted for use as a Social Center. Its large kindergarten room and its two classrooms, which were used for club meetings, were unusually pleasant. On the other hand, the fact that the assembly hall was on the top floor made it difficult for the older people in the community to attend the lectures and entertainments; the fact that the shower baths were away from the gymnasium and that the entrance which was to be used for the Social Center was in the rear of the building, — these things helped to make this a good building to try out the idea from the point of view of adaptation of the building. If success could be won in such a building, it could be attained almost anywhere.

It was decided that the Social Center should be open from 7.30 to 10 o'clock every evening in the week except Sunday. One evening was set apart for a general gathering of the men and women,

boys and girls, of the Center. On this evening it was proposed that a lecture or entertainment, somewhat after the pattern of those which are provided in New York City, should be given. The School Board should assume complete responsibility for the character of these entertainments. Like the lectures given in New York City, these general lectures were to cost not more than $10 apiece in addition to the expense of the speakers. Unlike the lectures given in New York, these were to be provided without expense to the city whenever they could be secured without imposition. It was decided that Friday evening should be used as the evening for the general lecture or entertainment at No. 14. The other five evenings of the week were to be divided between the men and boys, who should have three, and the women and girls, who should have the other two. Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday were set apart for the use of the men and boys, Monday and Wednesday for the women and girls.

More important than the equipping of the building or the arranging of the time schedule was the one step which remained to be taken before the Social Center work could be begun. This was the appointment of directors for the various departments of the work. The first position in the Social Center was naturally that of the director of the Center, who should occupy a position relative to that of the principal of the school, overseeing all of the various activities of the Center and being present whenever the building was open. This position was to be occupied during the first year by the supervisor of the Centers.

Next in importance to the director was the assistant, a woman to take charge of the women's and girls' activities of the Center and serve as their club director. It was especially fortunate for the trying out of the experiment at No. 14 that the woman who was appointed to this position not only had such a spirit of social interest that she made over five hundred calls in the neighborhood, in which, by the way, she found not a single family in which the idea of the establishment of a Social Center in the community was not heartily welcomed, but she also possessed ability for musical leadership, so that even before the Social Center was formally opened, she had gathered an orchestra from the neighborhood which furnished music on the general evenings throughout the year.

The third position to be filled was that of director of boys' clubs. This man was to be present three evenings each week, was to prepare programs for the meetings of the boys' organizations, to help the debaters and other speakers from among the boys themselves in their work of preparation, and to guide them in the orderly conduct of their club meetings. The qualifications for this position are high, and we were fortunate in securing a man in whom they were unusually well combined. The pay for this service was to be at the same rate

as the pay of an evening school teacher, $25 a month, though the club director was to give a half hour more each night than is given by the evening school teacher.

The charge of the books and magazines and of the game room required the appointment of a librarian. It was necessary that this person should give five nights each week to the work, being present whenever the Center was open, except on the general evening. For this position it was necessary to have some one who was not only familiar enough with books to advise in their selection and to help in finding material for debates, etc., but also a person who could teach chess and other table games and could prevent disorder without preventing enjoyment. The salary affixed to this position was $30 per month.

The gymnasium work required the appointment of, first, a director of gymnasium work among the men and boys, who should be present on their three evenings and who should be equipped to lead drills and classes in apparatus work as well as in the supervision of basket ball and other gymnasium games (this position, like that of the club director, was to pay the evening school rate of $25 per month); and second, a woman gymnasium director. On account of the fact that the women's gymnasium was to consist largely of drills and folk dances, requiring the accompaniment of a piano, an assistant was also appointed who should serve as pianist. Because of the exceptional qualifications of the woman who was appointed to take charge of the women's gymnasium work, the salary for this position was made the same as that of the man gymnasium director, in spite of the fact that she was to serve only two evenings each week. The assistant's salary was fixed at $15.

In addition to these positions, it was found necessary to appoint a door and hall keeper; first, to prevent running and disorder at the entrance and in the halls; second, to exclude the children who, on account of their age, were ineligible to the Social Center; and third, to serve as an information bureau and guide to strangers who might visit the Center.

In order to prepare the building for the use of the Social Center and to put it in order for the day school use, it was necessary that an assistant to the regular janitor of the building be employed. This man was to be responsible to the day janitor, who was to see that he did the required work in a proper manner. The salary attached to this position, which required a man's presence six nights each week, was $50 per month.

With the plan of the work definitely laid out, the building equipped, the schedule of the division of time arranged, and the directors appointed, the preparations were complete for the actual beginning of the work.

Friday evening, November 1, 1907, was the date set for the opening of the first Social Center. In spite of the fact that very many people in the neighborhood knew nothing, or at best had an erroneous idea, of the project, there were 314 people present. . . .

The reason for the success of the Social Center No. 14, through its first year, was not primarily in any inspiration that came from the Board of Education, nor in the hospitality on the part of the day school teachers, great helps as both of these were; it was primarily in the broad, joyous, hearty spirit of coöperation and good fellowship, which the people in the community began to show on that opening evening. There was present, as the first bulletin said, "a feeling that a great new opportunity and means of acquaintanceship and enjoyment had come into our neighborhood life." The immediate perception of the true spirit of the Social Centers was shown by one of the men of the community, who, as he left the building, remarked to the director, "It just means for the people to get their money's worth out of their own property."

At the opening of the Center, the fundamental importance of club organization had been explained and it had been announced that the boys between 14 and 17 would have an opportunity to organize, on the following evening, a club which should hold meetings on each successive Saturday evening. The gymnasium, baths, library, etc., were to be open for the men and older boys, while the small boys were having their meeting. The young men between 17 and 21 were invited to form a club to meet on Tuesday evening, while the men and younger boys were to have the use of the other parts of the Social Center equipment. Thursday evening was set apart for the club meeting of men, if such a club were formed, the boys having the gymnasium and the rest of the equipment on that evening. The women were invited to form their club to meet on Monday evening, and the girls and younger women to use Wednesday evenings, each group to have the use of the gymnasium, etc., during the time when its members were not holding their meeting.

In one respect all of these organizations were to be alike. They were all to bear the expenses which their meetings and programs incurred, except the expense of heating, lighting and janitor service, and, in the case of the clubs of young people, the salary of the club director; which expenses should be paid out of the Social Center fund. Each club was to be free and dependent upon itself for the selection of officers, arrangement of programs, etc. The adult clubs would have no supervisor, though they might, of course, call upon any of the Social Center force for help. The younger clubs would be guided in their organization by a director, who would be present at each of their

meetings, to help in the orderly conduct of business and to advise concerning programs, etc.

It was further announced that the general lectures and entertainments and the uses of the rest of the equipment would be open to all men and women, but to only those young people who were members in good standing of one of the clubs. This requirement was not placed upon adults because it was expected (and the event fulfilled the expectation) that for them the club meetings would be the most important part of Social Center activity anyway.

On Saturday evening about twenty-eight boys, between 14 and 17, met and effected an organization. A constitution was drawn up with the aid of the director and adopted. The preamble of that constitution was as follows: —

"Whereas, the world needs men and women who can think clearly and express their thoughts well; and whereas, each of us has powers of clear thinking and good expression which need only practice for development; and whereas, by combination of effort the best results may be obtained, we whose names are hereunto annexed, do form a society whose object shall be the cultivation of the powers of clear thinking and good expression by means of debates, essays, orations, public readings and discussions."

The following Tuesday evening thirty-four boys, between 17 and 21, came together and formed an organization similar to that which the younger boys had formed on Saturday evening, adopting a constitution similar to that of the younger club.

The Men's Club, for which Thursday evening was reserved, did not materialize until a month later.

On Monday evening some forty women formed an organization to hold weekly meetings, drew up a constitution and elected officers.

The girls under 21 formed their club on the same lines as those followed by the boys' organization, on Wednesday evening.

In the younger clubs it was voted that the programs should consist of two debates, one address by an outside speaker and one miscellaneous program each month. The women's club decided to have two addresses, one debate or other special program, and one social evening each month.

In each of these clubs it was voted that a small sum of money should be required as dues, which should go into a club fund for providing refreshments on social evenings or to bear any other expense which the club might incur.

In each of these clubs, at the beginning, the membership was restricted to those whom the club elected in by vote, the theory being that new clubs of boys and girls or women might be formed at any time by those who, for any reason, did not become members of

the already existing clubs. Following out this idea, there were formed within a month after the organization of the first clubs, two other clubs of boys between 17 and 21, one other club of boys between 14 and 17, and a second women's club; so that by the middle of the first year in No. 14, there were five boys' clubs, two women's clubs and one young women's club.

On December 5, 1907, twelve men came together in the Social Center and organized the first Men's Civic Club. The aim of this organization was expressed in the preamble of its constitution as follows:—

"Whereas, the welfare of society demands that those whose duty it is to exercise the franchise be well informed upon the economic, industrial and political questions of to-day; and whereas, by combination of effort the best results may be obtained; and whereas, the public school building is the best available place for such combination of effort; therefore, we, whose names are hereunto annexed, do form a society, to hold, in the public school building, meetings whose object shall be the gaining of information upon public questions by listening to public speakers and by public readings and discussions."

At this first meeting of the club, Dr. J. L. Roseboom was elected president. In his inaugural address was expressed the true spirit of the Social Center as the restoration to the school in the city of the democratic social activities, which were connected with the uses of the schoolhouse "back home." In that address he said that he had been brought up, as a boy, in a farming community where the individual's interest in and responsibility for public matters finds expression in meetings in the schoolhouse. He had watched the development of the Social Center and had noticed a similarity to the social uses of the schoolhouses there. He felt that the institution would not be completed unless, like its prototype, it included meetings of the men in the community, for the open presentation and free discussion of public questions.

The representative character of this organization was shown in the fact that among the first set of officers elected, two were members of the "well-to-do" class, one a banker, the other a physician, while the others were men who labored with their hands.

The enthusiasm with which the organization of this Men's Civic Club was received was such that at the second meeting of the club the membership roll increased to fifty. At that meeting Alderman Frank Ward, who had been invited to address the Club on "The Duties of an Alderman," made a memorable statement as to the value of such an organization. At the close of his address he responded to the vote of thanks tendered him by the club, by saying: "You have given me a vote of thanks. I feel that I want to give you a

vote of thanks for the privilege of speaking to you and hearing your frank discussion of my words. If you have been benefited by my coming here, I have been benefited more. If every member of the Common Council and every other public servant had, frequently, such opportunities as this to discuss public matters with those to whom he owes his appointment, it would mean that we would have much better, more intelligent, representation of the people's interests and a cleaner government."

In addition to these clubs, the only other one formed was the orchestra, which has already been mentioned, and which, while it had no regular written constitution or form of business in meetings, virtually constituted a club. There were ten members of the orchestra, both men and women. They met for practice, under the leadership of the assistant director of the Center every Tuesday evening, and then played at the general Friday evening lecture or entertainment. The part that this organization had in making the Social Center attractive and successful was very great.

Extracts from "The Second Year's Record"

The selection of the names "Coming Civic Club" and "Future Civic Club," and their significance, have been mentioned. The motto that was chosen by one of these clubs "From the corners to the Center" is also significant. The phrase suggests the larger service of the Social Center as a place where people of different groups, political, religious and social, who occupy various corners of our fragmentary life, may meet, become acquainted, broaden their outlook and develop the ability to think in terms of the whole city. But, while that is the greater service of the Social Centers, the service that is first suggested by this phrase "From the corners to the Center," to the boys and young men of the community, who would, without the Social Center, be spending their time on street corners, is a great one.

On Sunday afternoon, December 20, the most remarkable evidence that has appeared thus far, of the value of the Coming Civic Clubs as a means of training boys and young men in self-government, was given at No. 14 Social Center. The director, coming from one of the other Centers, arrived in the middle of the afternoon. When he entered the building, not seeing any of the boys about, he asked the doorkeeper where they were. "They are holding a meeting in the Art Room," he answered. "Who is with them?" asked the director. "Nobody," was the response. "Don't you know that they should not be in that room without a director present?" "I have been listening," replied the doorkeeper, "in the hall, and they seem

to be orderly." The director went to the Art Room, and, opening the door, found between thirty and forty fellows, sitting in perfect order, the president in his chair, the secretary beside him taking the minutes of the meeting, and one of the youths on his feet presenting the claims of Mr. Bryan for the presidency. The director sat down to listen to the discussion. After the speaker had used his allotted time, the floor was given to a rival claimant; and so an orderly triangular debate was carried through. When it was over, it was learned that a dispute had been started in the hall over the relative merits of the Republican and Democratic candidates. A year before, if these fellows had been interested at all in such a question, a dispute would have led to loud contradictions, possibly blows. In the midst of the discussion in the hall it was suggested that, in order to give all sides a fair show, they should hold a five-sided debate, with two defendants of the claims of each of the candidates. There being no Independence Leaguer nor Prohibitionist present, it was finally decided to make it a triangular debate, giving the one Socialist youth in the crowd a chance to speak twice to make up for the fact that there were two Republicans and two Democrats present.

Here these fellows were, holding, on their own initiative, an orderly debate, these fellows who, a year before, had been willing to do almost anything to get out of debating in the club meetings. None of them were schoolboys, and some of them were fellows of the "naturally agin the government" type.

The statement of the object of one of these Coming Civic Clubs was that day shown to be more than empty words. "The object of the club shall be to train its members for citizenship in the republic."

In addition to the opportunities which are offered by the regular meetings of these clubs, for the demonstration of their service, there have been two occasions when the public has had a chance to learn what they mean to the young fellows. One of these was in the address, called for and given without preparation, by the president of the West High Coming Civic Club on the occasion of the visit of the delegation which came from Buffalo to see the Social Centers, on the 14th of December. No one who was present could fail to be impressed by the words of this young man, when he told how the fellows of that neighborhood appreciated the opening of the Social Center. The other was the address given by the president of the No. 14 Coming Civic Club at the "People's Sunday Evening" in the National Theater on February 7. Here this young fellow gave the challenge, "How do you expect boys to grow up into good citizens when they have nothing but the training of the street corners?"

The same plan of activity, which was established during the first year, has been followed in these clubs, the emphasis being upon debating.

The clubs have had social affairs of various kinds. That at No. 14 has given a second minstrel show, which was quite as successful as that of last year. The club at West High entertained the girls' club with a sleighride and supper. But interest in the club life centers always about debating, and the attention was focused upon the final triangular debate between teams from the three Centers, which met to compete for championship in a triangular debate at West High on April 15.

The activities to which the girls' clubs have been devoted through this year have been more of a social character than those of the boys' clubs. The girls' club at No. 14 has continued on much the same lines that it followed during the first year. The club at West High was organized primarily as a Shakespeare study club. Portia, however, soon came down from her pedestal to play basket ball, and through most of the year gymnasium work has played a large part in the life of the West High Club.

The strongest girls' club, in point of numbers, is that at No. 9 Center, which meets on Sunday afternoon. No one could visit a meeting of this club without realizing the great value of such an organization of young women.

In all of the girls' clubs the same tendency which is shown by the other clubs toward a fair balance between serious work and recreation is apparent. Organized work in singing has been begun in each of these clubs, and it is probable that some excellent developments of this kind may be expected during the coming year.

The character of the Women's Civic Clubs may be shown by quoting the preamble of the constitution of the one which meets at West High Social Center on Tuesday evening, and giving the topics and attendance at its meetings. This constitution and program are typical of all three of these clubs.

"*Preamble*

"Whereas, we as twentieth century women have duties to society, to our homes and to ourselves which demand that we be well informed upon public questions and that we have broad sympathy with our fellows:

"And whereas, organization for securing public speakers, for discussions, debates, entertainments and all sorts of wholesome gatherings, is among the best means for the attainment of these ends;

"And whereas, the public school building is the best available place for such organization;

"We, whose names are hereunto annexed, do form ourselves into a society, to hold meetings in the Public School Building for listening to public speakers, for discussions, debates, entertainments and all

sorts of wholesome social gatherings, to the end that we may gain for ourselves, and for the community, intelligence upon public questions and sympathetic acquaintance with our fellows." . . .

Meeting in the earnest consideration of common problems, differences of race or creed only add to the interest of this acquaintanceship. In this broad fine atmosphere, pettyness has never appeared.

The word "civic" is no misnomer. The main business of these clubs is the dissemination of intelligence on public questions. At the same time a strong emphasis is laid upon social activities. A fine illustration of this sort of program was the "Recipe Exchange" which the No. 14 Women's Civic Club held on Monday evening, March 22, 1909. Each of the members of the club brought a dish of her favorite cooking, and a recipe for preparing it. The various dishes were placed upon the table; the recipes were written on the board and copied by each of the members. The evening closed by the serving of the favorite dishes, a sample of each for every member. These meetings are not at all "dress" occasions, the women, as a rule, leaving their hats in the cloak room and spending the hour without formality.

Not only have these clubs served to bring together, upon a common ground of acquaintance, the women of each community, but they have also served to acquaint the women of the different sections of the city with each other, each of the clubs having entertained, during the year, the members of the Women's Clubs from the other Social Centers. In addition to the social affairs carried on by the women among themselves, it has been the custom of the Women's Civic Clubs, particularly of that in No. 14 Center, to entertain, about once a month, the Men's Civic Clubs. On these occasions refreshments are served, and a special program of music is provided. The usual plan is for the Men's Club to pay the expenses and the women to serve the refreshments and provide the program. All such affairs have been carried on without expense to the city.

The most notable of these occasions, and indeed one which marks the peculiar service of the Social Center, took place at No. 14 on the night of February 22, when the Women's Civic Club entertained the Italian Men's Civic Club. This Women's Civic Club is made up, almost entirely, of American-born women. The majority of the Italian Men's Civic Club are, more or less, recent immigrants, who do not speak English fluently. The whole evening was one of exceptionally fine spirit, one woman remarking that never before had she realized that "people who are so different are so much the same." "I never realized before how interesting humanity is," she said. The climax of the evening was in the presentation by the Women's Civic

Club of a silk Italian flag to the Italian Men's Civic Club, and the presentation in return by the Italian Men's Civic Club, to the women, of a handsome picture of George Washington. Together they hang in the Social Center, the emblem of the internationalism, the humanity, that recognizes race differences as lines, not for prejudice or hatred, but to be rejoiced in because they bring diversity and interest to the larger human unity. Two weeks later the Italian men entertained the Women's Civic Club and presented to them a silk American flag. . . .

The Men's Civic Clubs, differing with the different communities in which they have been organized, have all kept, throughout this year, the same character of broad civic interest and freedom which marked those organized last year.

In the account of the organization of No. 14 Men's Civic Club is given the statement of Alderman Frank A. Ward, regarding the value of such an organization, which he made at the second meeting of this club.

A statement that may well be put with that of Alderman Ward was made at the organization meeting of the Civic Club formed in No. 30 School Building on February 5, when Alderman William Buckley said: "The value of the Civic Club from the point of view of the private citizen has been stated. I want to say a word in regard to its value from the point of view of the public servant. An alderman is elected to represent the people; a good alderman wants to represent the people, but how in the world can he represent the people unless he knows what the people want? And how shall he know what the people want unless they tell him? I welcome the Civic Club because it will give me an opportunity to learn the will of the people in this neighborhood." . . .

The regular meetings of the clubs are given over entirely to the presentation and discussion of public questions. In the programs of all of the clubs there has been constantly evident a desire for the presentation of both sides of any mooted question, and in the success thus far gained, in having a fair opportunity for both sides of questions to be represented, is indicated the exceptional service of the Civic Club. As an illustration of this practice of listening to both sides, the treatment of the saloon question may be taken. At one meeting Mr. C. N. Howard, the noted Prohibitionist, presented the argument against the saloon. He was followed at the next meeting of the club by the vice president of the Turnverein, who presented a carefully prepared paper upon the service of the saloon as a social institution for men who cannot afford private clubs. Men, who sided with each of these speakers, attended both meetings, and the effect of such fair presentation was pointed out by the Prohibition

County Chairman, who said that, while he believed the saloon advocate was wrong, yet this pair of addresses had left him with more respect than he had ever had before for the men who differed from him. The same broadening result naturally followed in the discussions of the problems of the relation between labor and capital. For instance, the conviction of Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison was presented upon one night by a prominent manufacturer, who believed, and gave his reasons for believing, that the action of the court was just. At the following meeting one of the recognized labor leaders presented the arguments against this position. The question of the value of newspapers was presented; first, by the editor of one of the papers in the city, who spoke on their high service, and then by Samuel Hopkins Adams, who, in a paper on "Undercurrents of Journalism" gave his views of the evil of the control of the press by unscrupulous interests. The benefit of a free nonpartisan platform in developing a courteous attitude, between those who differ radically upon public questions, was well illustrated in the spirit shown in the presentation of the two sides of the free textbook question in successive meetings before one of the clubs. It was after one of these pairs of discussions that a reporter of one of the papers said to the director of the Center, "I have never expected to see an organization developed in which such questions could be so warmly discussed without bitterness." While there was never yet, in all of these discussions, developed any discourtesy, their earnestness may be shown by a remarkable incident. At one of the meetings a seasoned newspaper reporter actually so far forgot his mission that he not only failed to take notes of the discussion, but rose and took part in it. When the city editor questioned him about it, he answered that if he (the city editor) had been there, he probably would have done the same thing.

While most of the meetings of these clubs have been devoted to larger public questions, whenever local community problems have come up for solution, these clubs have dealt with them. They have uniformly showed a conservative spirit in their actions regarding local or municipal improvements. Only in a few cases have the clubs united in definite requests; in seeking the securing of playgrounds or parks, in seeking to secure changes in the street railway service, and otherwise in improving the conditions of their neighborhoods. . . .

There have been indications of the development of recreational activities in connection with the clubs. For instance, one of them has taken steps this year toward securing bowling alleys, and it is likely that this club will carry the project through, because the building in which it meets will not offer the difficulties which stood in the way of the club at No. 14 last year. But whatever recreational or other features may be added to the Civic Club activities, it is probable

that its prime service will remain the development of intelligent public spirit by the open presentation and free discussion of public questions.

Special reference should be made to the service of the two Italian Men's Civic Clubs which have been organized this year. These have the same object as the other Men's Civic Clubs, and in addition to that object the members aim especially to serve their recently arrived compatriots. Any one who has studied at all the problem of immigration realizes the great advantage which can be gained from such an organization. The newcomer to this country is liable to all sorts of tricks by which advantage is taken of his ignorance of the laws and usages of his new home and of his rights as a citizen. Moreover, he needs sympathetic guidance in order to a quick adjustment to his new surroundings. It is for this double service of protecting the Italian immigrants from the preying upon their ignorance, and to help them in understanding their new citizenship, that the two clubs, the one at No. 14 Social Center and the other at No. 5 School Building, were formed. One of these clubs has had the benefit of the direction of an Italian, a court interpreter and a teacher in one of the high schools. The other has been in charge of an Italian-speaking American citizen. Both of these men have given their service without charge, and each of them has shown remarkable devotion to the welfare of the immigrant. That these clubs have done the service for which they were organized is shown by the words of one of the members of the club at No. 14, who, at the close of the concert which that club gave on December 20, said, "Here, for the first time, I find realized the dream of what America would be, which I dreamed when I was in Italy."

The spirit of these clubs, which is appreciated in such words as the above, is expressed in the accompanying cartoon, drawn by one of the members of the "Spontaneous Art Club." At one end the Italian coat of arms, at the other the United States shield, each of them merging into the large brotherhood of the Social Center, signifying the idea of "Social Exchange." The common attitude toward the foreigner might be expressed by merging the Italian coat of arms into the United States shield. This would signify that nothing is made of the Italian's contribution to the common store; he is regarded as simply a learner coming to get something from the American. In the Social Center, with this idea of exchange, it is recognized that the Italian has something to get, but he also has something to give; he has much to learn, but he also has much to teach. He is there not simply as a recipient of the service or advice of the American, who says, "You must become like me," rather he is there met by the American, who says, "Let us get together, you with your ideas and hopes

and traditions and we with ours, and so shall we both develop a larger understanding, so shall we both be benefited." The response of the Italians to this manner of meeting them as men and brothers, and its effect, is indicated in the words of one of them who, speaking at the meeting of the "People's Sunday Evening" in the National Theater, on February 7, said that never before had he known of any institution which so strongly tended to develop the self-respect and the manhood of the Italian. "When you meet the Italian half way," said he, "as you do in the Social Center, recognizing that he, as an Italian, has something to bring, something to contribute to the common store, then you teach him to love and honor the American Flag and all that it stands for to you, by showing some respect for his flag, and all that that stands for to him, then you make him feel friendly, you make him feel that he is a man, you make him feel that he must be worthy of his larger citizenship." . . .

The total attendance at these "General Evenings" at the three Centers this year, from November 1 to April 17, was 22,961, an average attendance for each evening of 353. In all there have been 65 lectures or entertainments provided; of these 42 have been furnished without expense to the city. Not more than ten dollars has been paid as a fee for any lecture; in addition to this fee it has, of course, been necessary to pay the traveling expenses of those speakers who have been brought here from out of town. The total cost, aside from the lighting, heat, janitor service and supervision, of these general evenings has been $291.70. This makes the cost for special entertainment or lectures less than a penny and a quarter per attendance.

The same spirit of generous coöperation has been shown during this year, not only by those who have given their services free of charge, but also by those who have received a fee, for, in every such case, the service has been given at a fraction of the usual charge for such service.

E. J. Ward. Extracts from a pamphlet of the above title. Courtesy of the author.

Comment on the School as a Social Center

Two of the most important educational movements of the last twenty-five years in the United States, says President Eliot, have had to do with young people who have passed the school age. These movements are the development of social centers and of playground and amusement centers.[1] The social center work is, in brief, a movement to utilize in various ways outside of regular school hours the

[1] *Conflict of Individualism and Collectivism in a Democracy*, p. 68.

school building and equipment for the benefit of the entire community. It is the expression of the growing idea "that the school should minister to other needs of the community besides the purely educational."

It is not implied that the education of the children is not a true social service, but rather that with small additional expense the school plant may be adapted to other important services which are also broadly educational. "It is in this idea of the school as a social center that the whole modern evolution in education finds its completion. The school building becomes not merely a place for educating the young, it is the place where the whole community educates itself, adults as well as children. It is not open simply for a few hours in each day and for one specific purpose, but during all the social hours it is open for social ends. It displaces evil forces. The tavern and the saloon are displaced as centers of political and social influence. The school is made the home of games, of lectures, of concerts, of reading rooms and of many other forms of community culture and innocent amusement."[1] The theory and the practice of this conception of the larger function of education in the modern community is admirably stated in the two papers printed herewith. In the paper by Professor Dewey the underlying principles are presented; in Mr. Ward's paper we have an account of how these principles were actually applied in the city of Rochester. As the reader will have noted, the work was there started with men's civic clubs and extended from them to organizations of women and of young people. It has been maintained by those engaged in that work that this is the most desirable sequence; that if the social center work is organized first for the youth, it will never spread to and include the adults, especially the men of the community. However that may be, it is true that social center work as understood in most cities has been confined to work among children and young people; that is, to opening the school building after regular school hours to provide a meeting place for boys' and girls' clubs, a place for quiet study, for playing games and gymnastics, for social gatherings, etc. There can be no question but that all communities, even those of the villages and rural districts, need such a properly controlled center for general neighborhood life. The need, as far as the young people are concerned, is especially great. It has three as-

[1] Condensed from *The Independent*, Vol. 57, p. 111.

pects, that for recreation, for social intercourse, and for a continuation of instruction beyond the school years. With reference to adults, these needs are also real, but it is still a question as to just how far the school can reach them along all these lines. In the evening lecture system of New York and some other cities the continuation of the education of adults is apparently carried on with much success. On the side of recreation and social intercourse, the schools can also reach the adults to a limited degree. In the smaller community the whole population needs to be brought together occasionally in the spirit of play, of social intercourse, and of general good fellowship. In the larger communities the life is so complex and interests are so diversified, it is apparently impossible to get all the people together on any such common ground; but even here there are portions of the community which respond and are undoubtedly benefited. There seems no good reason why the work should not be carried on as far as opportunity affords, even if all the members of the neighborhood do not respond.

The need for social center work on the part of the school is directly related to the increasing complexity of modern community life, especially in the cities. The mere fact that all classes will not respond does not prove that they would not be benefited if they could be induced to cultivate the neighborly spirit through the social center.

For accomplishing all such things it would seem to be the part of economy to employ as far as possible the capital which society has invested in its schools. It is true the public school property may, if devoted to these broader uses, deteriorate more rapidly than if confined strictly to its traditional functions, although experience has shown that the wear is not in proportion to the additional service. In fact, it appears in some places that the broader social use of the school property produces in the minds of both old and young a sense of greater responsibility for its protection from all sorts of damage. But whether this be found to be fully so or not in every locality, it would at least be probable that the social service rendered would be out of all proportion to the additional cost. In fact, the cost to the community will be much less if these things are attempted through the school plant than if they are attempted through a separate and independent investment.

The question may occur to some as to whether this social center work, necessary though it be, is properly educational; that is, whether it can really be included within the so-called extensions of present-day school activity, or whether it is not more or less adventitious to education, even in the liberal interpretation of that function. It may be urged that the linking of social center work with the narrower teaching functions of the school is external and accidental, merely the outcome of the fact that the school building is at hand and is convenient for use in this additional manner. Such a view, however, is superficial and does not take into account the fact that in a progressive society the duties of educational agencies and the scope of educational theory must also grow in both extension and intension. Such services are certainly in accord with the larger conception of education current to-day; namely, that the school should, as far as lies within its power, extend its teaching function to the community at large, by providing for special classes and systematic lecture courses along the lines of vital community interests and needs; by providing opportunity for vocational training and vocational direction even for adults. Moreover, if the informational activities of the school may be properly extended to the community at large, may not other phases of the work of the school? Thus, it is a part of the work of the school to make some provision for recreation and physical training, to provide children with adequate opportunity for healthful social intercourse, to cultivate good habits and right moral ideals. All of these are recognized aspects of the education of the children of the community. If it is legitimate to extend in any way the scope of school activities, it would seem both logical and legitimate that these should be made to include as far as possible some provision for recreation, physical, educational and healthful social intercourse, both for adults and for children.

Of course there is no intrinsic reason why these services may not be performed by a variety of agencies. In fact, there are other agents at work along these lines, but none of them are so widespread or promise to be so generally acceptable to all classes as those which may operate under the auspices of the public schools. That this work has fallen to the schools seems in large measure to be due to the readiness of the school to respond to the growing demand on the part of the com-

munity coupled with the recognition that the doing of such things is in line with the broader conception of education. Nor can any other agency do the work so effectively and so easily as can the school. In the first place, as we have said, it has the material equipment largely in readiness. There are the gymnasiums, halls, libraries, shops and laboratories, all of which are admirably adapted to just such uses. Furthermore, the school is a natural spiritual center for the community. It is where the children spend a large portion of the day. The interests engendered there are often carried back and discussed in the home. A certain common interest in the school and its work is thus the only existing point of contact between the majority of the members of the community. It thus becomes a place toward which all may naturally turn, and which can more effectively than any other agency unite the community in a healthful social life.

It is true that only a few schools are beginning to realize these possibilities, but there is an unquestionable movement in the direction here indicated. The attempt has been to show that the movement is legitimate as well as desirable, and that it can hardly be classed as merely a passing fad.

The social center work, which has thus far developed naturally, varies greatly in its scope and details from city to city. In some localities, as in Rochester, New York, the object has been to develop a higher civic life among the adult members of the community.

Boston was a pioneer in social center work of another type, it having been initiated there in 1899. Many other cities have followed suit, notable among which are Milwaukee, Columbus, Cleveland, Chicago. In some cases the initial cost has been met by private subscriptions, often raised by women's clubs. Later the school boards have taken up the work. In these latter places the work is still confined largely to the children and youth, it being the purpose of the social center to furnish opportunity for the young people to have suitable places for recreation and social intercourse, and afford rooms for clubs of all sorts. It was in the opening of certain school buildings in New York City to boys' and girls' clubs in 1897 that the work was started there. The aspects of the work are so diversified that it will be more satisfactory to consult the accounts of it referred to in the Bibliography than to attempt a brief and necessarily abstract summary of it here.

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CHAPTER VI

THE SOCIAL NEED FOR CONTINUING THE EDUCATION OF THE ADULT

School Extension and Adult Education

THE extension of the use of the school on the lines to which I have referred has, in the city of New York, been even further broadened. It is believed that education is required not alone as a means of livelihood, but as a means of life; and that as Bishop Spaulding says, "The wise and the good are they who grow old still learning many things, entering day by day into more vital communion with beauty, truth, and righteousness."

It is the belief in this theory that has led the city of New York to include in its conception of the school a provision for adult education. Its underlying principle is that education must be unending. The city's prosperity and growth depend on the intelligence of its citizens, and as we have come to realize that the child is of supreme importance, so have we also arrived slowly at the conclusion that he who from necessity has remained a child in education, needs continuous instruction.

A librarian once told me that a young reader came into her library and said he wished a book entitled "How to Get Educated and How to Stay So." He unconsciously spoke a great truth. It is one thing to get educated; it is another to stay so. The school gives the beginning of education. Provision for adult education is necessary to enable us "to stay so." Of the school population in our land, about three per cent attend high schools, and less than one and one half per cent the colleges, universities, and professional schools. The great body of our citizens have but limited education; and the very persons best fitted to profit by education and who need it most are in most cases denied its beneficent influence. Two classes are especially in need of it; first, those between fourteen and twenty years, the time of adolescence, when conscience is disturbed and when character is being formed; at that time all the safeguards of true culture must be around youth; and then there is a large class of mature people who have a knowledge of practical life and who appreciate the value of education most keenly. It is from such a class that our students —

I call them that rightly — of electricity, of physics, of history, are recruited. A lecturer on physics wrote to me the other day, "The questions put to me by my hearers were, as a rule, more intelligent than are asked in many a college."

Sixteen years[1] ago the Free Lecture movement was tentatively begun in New York in six schoolhouses. The total attendance was about 20,000. During the past year there were 140 places where systematic courses of lectures were given by 450 lecturers, and there came an attendance of 1,155,000. The growth indicated by the figures which I have just quoted must lead to the conclusion that this democratic movement for adult education is appreciated by a constantly increasing body of our citizens. The large number who have attended this year prove that the appetite for instruction on the part of the people has not been appeased, but that, like all good things, appetite comes with eating. As a rule, we should not boast of mere bigness; but the fact that in the city of New York, including, as it does, all sorts and conditions of men and women, so large a number of persons, many of them old, wend their way, and in many instances, climb toilsome flights of stairs to the halls of instruction, is an admirable sign of the times. What is the magic power that draws to these halls — some of them far from comfortable — no matter in what kind of weather, so many earnest listeners? The answer is that the common sense of our people is truly appreciative of the best that the teacher can give, and in these courses it has been the endeavor to give the people the best available from the staff of lecturers at our command.

It can be safely said that the movement for adult education, popularly known as the free lectures, is no longer an experiment. It is recognized in the charter as an integral part of the educational system of the city of New York. Its righteous claim to be considered such is shown by the constant endeavors to systematically organize the instruction. In the first years of the lecture course, the lectures were not organized as consecutively as they are now. We know now definitely what our aim is. A passenger on the elevated train in Boston, somewhat the worse for drink, was carried around the entire system twice, not knowing where to disembark. Finally, the conductor said to him: "At what station do you want to get off?" The man aroused himself sufficiently to say, "What stations have you got?" Some years ago we were in doubt as to what our stations were. Now we have found our definite station — the definite purpose is to arrange these courses of lectures systematically to stimulate study, to coöperate with the public library, to encourage discussion; or, in other

[1] This address was delivered in 1905. For current statistics the student should consult the latest reports of the free lecture system. The *principles* here stated are as true now as ever.

words, to bring the best teachers to bear upon this problem of the diffusion of culture among all citizens of a great city. Has this been done during the past year? One hundred and seventy courses of lectures, averaging six in each course, have been given, and the majority of these courses by professors and teachers in our universities. One course of thirty lectures on nineteenth century English Literature was given in a series lasting through the whole winter at one center, and the audience at each lecture averaged over 300. An examination was held and certificates were awarded to those who had attended at least twenty-seven of these lectures and who had successfully passed two written examinations which were held. Thirty-one received certificates, approved by Columbia University. Thus we have university extension realized on a large scale.

Thirty courses of lectures, consisting of five each, on " First Aid to the Injured," were given, examinations held and certificates awarded. To coöperate with the Department of Health, lectures on "The Prevention of Tuberculosis " were given in thirty-four places by reputable physicans, so that the themes which have instructed our audiences have been first the facts concerning the body and its care.

Then the great phenomena of natural science have been explained — how steam was harnessed, how electricity is put to man's service, how the stars move in their courses. The whole world has been traveled over. Starting from our own city, the natural beauties of our own land have been described. Every country on the globe, from Greenland's icy mountains to India's coral strand, has been described by travelers who have visited these lands and have braved the dangers for our instruction. The development of citizenship has been fostered by scholarly treatment of the great epochs in our national history and the study of the makers of our national life; and, to give a wider outlook, epochs in general history have been boldly outlined, for the history of the world is one great drama, and all its acts form part of one stupendous whole. Music, painting and other forms of art have been presented to the people, and courses on the education and training of children, as well as municipal progress, have been listened to by eager auditors; for the purpose, as stated before, is to aid the joy and value of human life by diffusing among the mass of our citizens what some one has well called " race knowledge."

The level of our citizenship depends upon the quantity of race knowledge which is made a concrete part of our social environment.

It has been my privilege to receive, year by year, appreciative letters from both lecturers and auditors — the lecturer emphasizing the value of the experience in its growth and power, the auditors telling of the inspiration and stimulus derived from the lectures.

A college graduate writes:

"I believe there are many who think the lectures are only for those who have not had an opportunity to receive a high school or college education. The more intelligent the hearer, the greater the benefit derived. As to the benefits received from these courses, they are too numerous to mention, but I can gladly say that through my knowledge of 'First Aid to the Injured,' I have been of use to different persons from taking a cinder out of the eye of an elevated conductor to fixing up the sprain of a friend."

Another writes: —

"The majority of us know nothing but paved streets and brick walls. Nature stands at our doors, but we know nothing of her. These lectures give us instruction and mental exhilaration."

And yet another auditor writes: —

"I shall try my best to pass the examination (referring to a course on 'First Aid to the Injured'), although I am very absent-minded and nervous, having been a victim of typhoid fever a year ago and a remittent fever last fall. If I fail, I shall have at least tried my best and learned something to my advantage. I cannot say anything in favor of the Monday lectures, as my husband only attends them, because I have three small children who cannot be left alone. I am glad my beloved spouse stays with them Thursday evenings to grant me the benefit of the lectures."

The fact has been established that the people will go to school; so that there are now two kinds of lectures — one for larger audiences, where subjects which appeal to large bodies can be treated; and the other more special in its nature, where those who come are only interested in a particular subject. The entire winter at some centers is devoted to but one or two subjects, and a definite course of reading and study follow. The division satisfies those who are already prepared for higher study and those who are just entering upon an appreciation of intellectual pleasure, for, believing as I do in the educational purpose and value of these courses, I also believe to an extent in their wisdom from the recreative side. The character of our pleasure is an index of our culture and our civilization. A nation whose favorite pastime is the bullfight is hardly on a plane with one that finds pleasure in the lecture lyceum; so, if we can make our pleasure consist in the delights of art, in the beauties of literature, in the pursuit of science, or in the cultivation of music, are we not doing a real public service? Is not refinement, too, one of the ends for which we are aiming — not alone knowledge, but culture; not alone light, but sweetness? And if we can turn our youth from the street corners to the school playground, transformed into a temple of learning, are we not helping to attain a desirable end?

To some, these lectures have proved the only bright spot in a cheerless existence; others have been greatly refined through their influence. After the lecture, many have crowded around the lecturer for further information, and upon reaching their homes, their conversation has not been the tittle-tattle of everyday life, but about Shakespeare, Lincoln, the Arctic explorations, or the wonders of electricity. Many a mind has been stirred from its lethargy; and the lecturers have appealed to all classes of our citizens — the dweller in the tenement house or in the single house — for their message is to rich and to poor, man and woman, young and old, educated and uneducated. They show parents what a valuable thing education is, and the parents become attached to the school. They are social solvents, for the school is a safeguard of democracy, and at these lectures the laborer and employer, the professional man and the mechanic, attend. More has been done, for these lectures have been, to many, voices in the wilderness giving aid and comfort to many an aspiring soul and revealing to it its own strength, for many a poorly dressed man may have in him the germ of gifts which it would be well to add to the treasury of noble deeds.

Summarizing again the aims of this movement, I would say that it is to afford to as many as possible the fruits of a liberal education, to make education a life purpose, to apply the best methods of study to the problems of daily life, so as to create in our citizens a sound public opinion. When it is remembered that a million and a half men, according to the last census, of voting age were unable to read or write — that is, 11 per cent of the total number — it will be seen how important the continuance of education is in a country whose government is determined by popular suffrage. And the greater portion of this illiteracy, let it be borne in mind, is in persons not of foreign parentage. The percentage of illiteracy among the foreign born is large, but among the native born of foreign parents it is smaller than among those of native parents. And this leads me to refer to the addition to our course in the shape of lectures in foreign languages to recently arrived immigrants. Nothing is more illustrative of the hospitality of our city than is this provision for acquaintanceship of future citizens, at the earliest possible moment, with the history of our institutions and the laws of civic well-being.

The lectures are illustrated largely by the stereopticon, and this teaching of the eye has proven a most effective means of popularizing knowledge and retaining interest. Mere speech is no longer sufficient. The actual thing talked about must be shown on the screen. In scientific lectures, abundant experiments accompany the lecture, and the interest in scientific subjects can be illustrated by the fact that a course of eight lectures on " Heat as a Mode of Motion " in the

great hall of Cooper Institute attracted an average audience of 1000 at each lecture. The lecture was followed by a quiz class, which lasted about an hour, and serious reading of such a book as Tyndall's " Heat as a Mode of Motion " was done by many of the auditors.

Special attention is paid to instruction in American history and civics. On the birthdays of great Americans, in several portions of the city, the lives of these eminent characters form the subject of the lecture; and during the past two years, in order to help in the assimilation of the newly arrived foreigner, lectures have been given in Italian and Yiddish on subjects that relate to sanitation and to the preparation for American citizenship.

The lecturers are recruited from the very best educators available. Our lecturers include the professors in our universities, the traveler, the journalist, the physician, the clergyman — and the fine spirit that characterizes our teaching force is worthy of emulation by all who are engaged in the noble work of education. It seems to me that no more honorable, and perhaps more difficult, task can be placed in the hands of a teacher who stands before audiences such as gather in our schoolhouses, for I know of no more sacred task than that of a teacher in a democracy, organizing as he does public opinion, directing reading, and inspiring for the higher life. The ideal teacher in a scheme of adult education, as some one says, must combine with the university professor's knowledge the novelist's versatility, the actor's elocution, the poet's imagination, and the preacher's fervor.

Adult education as practiced in New York combines the best elements of university extension and reaches the working people of the city. It has been the means of realizing the belief that scholarship must go hand in hand with service, and that the duty of the university to the city and the state is to lift our citizens to higher ideals.

The influence of the lectures on general reading is illustrated by the report from one public library, concerning which the librarian writes:

" The register shows an increase of 321 members during the course of the winter lecture season, of which a large portion consisted of those who had first heard of the library in the lecture hall. As a result, the people select their books with more care and forethought, having something definite to ask for, and on a subject in which their interest was aroused. A stimulus was created which led to more intelligent reading. You cannot expect all the people to appreciate and thoroughly enjoy a book until they know something akin to that subject and until their enthusiasm has been aroused."

This is what I feel the lectures are doing for those who have not had a school course. The platform library forms an integral part of the lecture movement. As the libraries do not possess sufficient duplicate copies of any particular book, there are loaned out to those who attend

the courses, the leading books that are mentioned on the syllabus which is distributed with each course of lectures; and the circulation of these books bespeaks the intelligent pursuit of the subject in hand.

The movement of adult education not alone gives a new interpretation to education and the teacher, but a new type of schoolhouse which is to be open not only for a few hours daily, but at all times, and to be a place not alone for the instruction of children, but for the education of men and women; so that there should be in each modern schoolhouse proper auditorium, with seats for adults and equipped with apparatus for scientific lectures, and for proper means of illustration.

There should be no necessity for citizens, desiring to add to their culture, sitting in the low and ill-ventilated and unattractive schoolroom, or climbing sixty or seventy steps to sit upon a bench intended only for children. So a change in the construction of our schoolhouses may result from the expansion of this use. The newer schoolhouses built in our city contain such auditoriums; and the extension of the school for these varied purposes makes the schoolhouse what it really should be — a social center — the real, democratic neighborhood house. That we are approaching such an ideal may be inferred from the fact that some of the schoolhouses in the crowded districts are open on Sunday. If the museum and the library are open on Sunday, why should not the schoolhouse, too, be open on Sunday, and in its main hall the people be gathered to listen to an uplifting address of a biographical, historical, or ethical nature?

It seems to me that the tendency should be to include in public education all that is best in the movements of philanthropy which mark our time. The interest of churches and philanthropic societies in our work is shown by the constant offering of church and other halls gratuitously for Board of Education public lectures. The church surely approves of spreading the gospel, "Let there be light."

The unification of a great city is furthered by a system of public lectures. It is not brought about by the mere building of bridges. In a great city, neighborliness does not often prevail, but a community of ideas brings people together; and when last year it was resolved to celebrate the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of New York as a municipality, it was celebrated not by a military parade or a monster banquet, but by a series of illustrated lectures and open air exhibitions of the great development of New York City. About one hundred such lectures were given, illustrating the history of the city of New York — thirty of them in public parks. As New York is the pioneer in this work of adult education, so is she the pioneer in this peaceful method of civic celebration.

The provision for adult education emphasizes the fact which now, more than ever, should be emphasized in our American life — that men are not old at forty. Dr. Osler, deserving of so much credit, has certainly done a great public service in awakening discussion on the question of the period of man's mental decay. What is needed in America, it seems to me, is more, not less, reverence for age; more, not less, recognition of the fact that though there may be a climax to man's bodily development in early manhood, his mental development should be continuous, and as President Eliot says, "His last years should be his best." Scientists tell us that the brain of a man between fifty and sixty is at its best, and even at sixty the acquisition of knowledge may well be begun.

The history of the world of the past and the present day is full of illustrations of the activities of old men, and no one has put it better than Longfellow in these words: —

"But why, you ask me, should this tale be told,
To men grown old, or who are growing old?
It is too late! Ah, nothing is too late
Till the tired heart shall cease to palpitate.
Cato learned Greek at eighty, Sophocles
Wrote his grand Œdipus, and Simonides
Bore off the prize of verse from his compeers,
When each had numbered more than fourscore years;
And Theophrastus, at fourscore and ten,
Had begun his 'Characters of Men'
Chaucer, at Woodstock, with the nightingales,
At sixty wrote the 'Canterbury Tales,'
Goethe, at Weimar, toiling to the last,
Completed 'Faust' when eighty years were past.
These are indeed exceptions, but they show
How far the gulf stream of our youth may flow
Into the arctic regions of our lives,
Where little else than life survives."

Summing up the value of this movement, it may be said that it brings culture in touch with the uncultured, it gives a new meaning to the uses and possibilities of the schoolhouse, and not alone adds to the stock of information of the people, but furnishes them with ideas. In these days of shorter hours and larger opportunities, the toilers will find in adult education the stimulus for the gratification of their intellectual desires, and a larger world is given them in which to live. The best characters in literature will influence them, their daily labor will be dignified, new joy will come into their lives from this association with science, literature and art; and they will find that true happiness does not come from wealth, but

from sympathy with the best things in art, and with the love of nature.

The public school is becoming recognized throughout our country as the most efficient form of training for intelligent democracy. Despite the criticisms of the public school, the constant trend of the morale of the American people is upward, due to its influence, and if the public school has failed to become the absolute panacea that the idealists would desire, is it not largely because of the failure to provide for education sufficient funds to bring about the desired results? The public school should occupy the most beautiful building in the town, and the teachers in the public school should be men and women of the finest intelligence, the highest culture, and occupy the highest social position. When such conditions prevail, when popular appreciation indicates that the highest service that one can perform is in the service of teaching, then indeed will the public school become what the vision of the dreamer would have it realize. The public school building of the present day, architecturally beautiful, with improved sanitation, with provision for physical development, and with its auditorium for lectures, is in a fair way toward bringing near that ideal, so well described in the words of Mr. Page: " We must make the public school everybody's house before we can establish the right notion of education. It unites the people and they look upon it as the training place in which everybody is interested, just as they look upon the courthouse as the place where every man is on the same footing."

We who engage in this work of education are imperialists, but our empire is the empire of the mind; for we believe it is the mind that makes the body rich. We are expansionists, but we desire the expansion of opportunity for all men to live the true life. We believe in the open door; but it is the open door to the schoolhouse to which we refer. We should make it not alone a nursery for children, but a place of intelligent resort for men and women; and we are democrats in believing with our honored president that though education never saved a nation, no nation can be saved without it.

From a lecture by Henry M. Leipziger, published in *The Addresses of the Lewis and Clark Educational Congress*, Portland, 1905.

Comment on Evening Lectures for Adults

The preceding quotation from Dr. Leipziger, the organizer and supervisor of the public lectures given to adults in New York City under the auspices of the Board of Education, brings out clearly the social significance of such work. It is an outgrowth of the larger con-

ception of the function of education in the modern community. More and more do we realize that in a truly progressive community it is necessary for education to extend beyond childhood and youth into the years of maturity. It is too much to expect that all adults shall endeavor to keep alive and growing mentally, but it is at least safe to say that the more there are of that type the better it is for the community.

The plan of evening lectures which has proved so successful in New York has been tried with variations in other cities, sometimes under the direction of the school authorities, sometimes at the instance of outside public spirited organizations. We are warranted in believing moreover that what has proved to be of such public interest in the large cities would be equally interesting and valuable for smaller centers of population and even for rural communities. Whether this particular plan is followed or not, some ways and means must be devised for greatly extending the opportunities for education. In no other way can those who were trained in the schools of twenty or thirty years ago keep pace with the present-day rate of progress. To give only one illustration, modern sanitary science has brought to light a multitude of facts bearing vitally upon every community. Shall these facts regarding personal hygiene, care of the sick, drinking water, pure foods, be taught only to children? The general social body will then receive very little benefit, for the children can do little toward applying these facts without some sympathetic and intelligent coöperation on the part of the adult community. The most effective method is to teach the adults directly, and in this way immediate effects may be produced. It is probably true that there is no means by which educational agencies may contribute more rapidly to social progress than through some such system of adult instruction in the advance of science and in social amelioration. It is significant to note that the whole plan of adult instruction indicates a rather radical rejection of the old educational theory that only children are educable. Education may, and in modern times must, for the majority of the adults, continue throughout life.

In the smaller community one of the difficult problems is that of securing interesting and instructive lectures. This is not, however, as difficult as it may seem at first sight. The resources available to

even the smallest community are rapidly increasing in number. One who would study some particular and apparently unpromising situation in the light of the suggestions of Perry [1] will no doubt be surprised at the unused and inexpensive resources which lie at hand.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Describe the lecture systems of Cleveland, Chicago, Milwaukee, Boston, Philadelphia. See Perry, Hyre, and the school reports of these and other cities.
2. Examine the various resources mentioned by Perry (*Wider Use*, p. 385) with reference to developing a system of adult instruction in a community with which you are familiar. Describe the community fully as to its social and industrial characteristics and the needs growing out of them.
3. Summarize fully the social need of continuing instruction through the adult years.
4. Is it a legitimate extension of the function of public education?

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[1] *Wider Use of the School Plant*, pp. 385–391.

CHAPTER VII

PLAYGROUND EXTENSION, AN ASPECT OF THE LARGER MEANING OF EDUCATION

Why have Playgrounds at Public Expense?

EVERY city and town should provide public playgrounds and gymnasiums with proper supervision for rational forms of exercise as well as for health education apart from exercise. But each family should also have its private playground and gymnasium in some form. Neither is a satisfactory substitute for the other.

A man and a woman, a boy and a girl, all require rational physical activity as long as they live. They require motor training as they require mental training or manual training. There is just as much reason for a city not to provide schools for its children as for it not to provide means for physical training and recreation — and no more.

A properly conducted playground, a properly conducted gymnasium, indoors and outdoors, is a general education center; a center for moral and ethical training, a place to teach the art of living without depending on "graft," a feat that seems almost impossible to too many of the next generation of men now growing up in crowded centers of population. A city that does not provide suitable places for its citizens and coming citizens to care for their physical selves will be called upon to provide additional police stations, jails and hospitals. Prevention is very much cheaper than cure, both for the patient and the doctor.

The correct idea of a playground takes in much more than a vacant lot where boys play baseball, or even a fenced in and apparatus supplied recreation center. A proper playground system provides for the physical welfare of all ages and sexes and colors and nationalities in one establishment or in several separate locations. The young women need rational exercise and pure play — especially real relaxation from restraint of all kinds — fully as much as the young men. The elderly people need forms of the same kind of attention as well as the small children.

If there are combined in one place interests for all ages, it may be more easily a social center with fathers, mothers, sons, daughters,

and aunts and cousins also, assembling with a common purpose but still having individual interests.

Children need a place for systematic exercise, be it called play or "having fun" or physical training. Play may be as instinctive to normal children as to normal puppies, but the children benefit by intelligent supervision and wise guidance. The knowing supervisor of child play will see that proper apparatus, proper tools, are used and that the children are led toward the better purposes of recreation rather than toward the demoralizing features of unguided, meaningless play. This can be best done in a place equipped and set apart for the purpose. We teach general education in schoolhouses, and naturally the playground is the best place to teach play.

The ordinances of a large New England city contain this provision, which sums up in a few words the conditions in most cities of the country: —

"No persons shall play at ball or throw stones or other missiles, or slide on any sled or machine, or in any vehicle whatever, for amusement, in any of the streets or highways."

Toronto, Canada, has a Queen's Park. A generation ago it was a recreation spot of much value and used by the city's children freely. Now there is a sign "Ball playing strictly prohibited." As if this was not enough restriction, an order was passed last winter prohibiting coasting down the hills.

As a good proportion of the vacant lots have "no trespassing" signs, where are the boys to play, if their fathers do not happen to own a piece of empty land, without being law breakers? The only answer is that cities must provide artificial playgrounds to give the children rights taken from them by modern municipal conditions.

In a properly equipped and supervised playground the natural rights of boys and girls are protected.

As has so often been said, most boys who break laws, who stone the neighbors' cats, who see how few whole panes of glass they can leave in the unused factory building, whose idea of manliness is associated with the corner tough who once licked the gamest "cop" on the force; these boys are usually less to blame than are the authorities who provide no outlet for natural strenuousness, but instead attempt to bottle up the energy. As well tie down tight the cover on a coffee tank full of boiling drink and not expect an explosion!

To be sure the parents are often, at the bottom of affairs, the responsible parties for much so-called lawlessness of children, but that is a subject not to be treated in this book.

To quote: "Give a boy a chance at football, basket ball, hockey or 'the game'; give him an opportunity to perform difficult and dangerous feats on a horizontal bar, on the flying rings, or from a

diving board; and the policeman will need a gymnasium himself to keep his weight down. This is not theory, but is the testimony you will get from any policeman or schoolmaster who has been in a neighborhood before and after a playground was started there."

So much for the boys of the "privileged class," as a Harvard professor modernly calls them, or of the "submerged tenth," as the older sociologists styled them.

As a matter of fact children of rich or wealthy parents, of the socially elevated classes, need all the education and training and good effects to be had from properly directed play and physical training. Not all the surplus energy of these boys goes toward the idea of stoning cats and breaking windows, but they get the same satisfactory results in other ways. We need to remember, whether we like to or not, that natural characteristics in the different strata of society do not really and truly differ so very much. The experiment of providing a playground especially for children of the so-called upper classes has been tried and proved successful.

Such a place, restricted to a special class of a community, ought not to be supported by public funds, as conditions are at present. So it need not be referred to here except to impress the fact that all sorts and conditions of people and children will use playgrounds if adapted to their interests and needs. . . .

"The demand for playgrounds has increased and more disposition to establish them has been shown among officials. Ten years ago a public playground could only have been thought of as the gift of some wealthy philanthropist. Now their place in the public expenditure is as well established as is that of parks, and the need for them is almost as well recognized as that of schools.

"It is within the memory of the present generation that the application of prevention to the problem of criminal administration began. Reformatories have grown less and less like prisons in their administration, and the machinery for keeping people out of jail is now thoroughly well established through our children's courts and the parole system for first offenders.

"But that is only one side of the problem. The state supports not only prisons, but almshouses and hospitals. Keeping recruits out of the latter is just as much a problem of practical administration as keeping people out of prison.

"The first preventive step is to have people born and raised with sound bodies. Over their birth neither science nor the state as yet exercises any control. But the rearing of a city-born population so as to reduce the percentage of criminals, paupers and diseased is an intensely practical matter. Fresh air and occupation are the first requisites for sound growth, and the playgrounds minister directly to

that need. Play is as necessary to a child as food, and in a city where every square foot of ground has a market value a place to play must be supplied by the city, because otherwise the children convert streets into playgrounds, to their own harm and the annoyance and danger of adults who use the streets for business or pleasure.

"The time will come when the city will give to every child who seeks it the rudiments at least of hand training, because it is cheaper to help him grow up as a thrifty citizen than to have him and his family hanging upon the skirts of charitable societies and on the edge of the poorhouse. But the need for manual training is less pressing than that for playgrounds." . . .

Very few movements, small or great, will go on for long or accomplish much without a leader. Some one with recognized authority to be used when necessary is essential to most, if not all, undertakings even in this democratic America. Just so, a game will "go" better if there is an umpire or a captain or a director at hand. . . .

"The play organizer is the most important element in a successful playground. Space there must be. A good equipment serves as a sort of an advertisement to draw the children to the ground, and has a certain usefulness of its own, but the attendance of the children and the good results obtained will depend one hundred fold more on the ability to interest and organize the children than it will on the best equipment. Vacant spaces or equipped playgrounds without a play organizer become seats of disorder and noise against which the whole neighborhood soon rebels. They fail utterly to secure organization in games and sports, to train through competition, and coöperation in the spirit of sportsmanship. They have for children only a very low athletic value. The organized playground soon comes to stand for all the virtues the play leader himself represents. Measured merely by the attendance of the children, it is the only successful playground, for a good director will double and treble the attendance over that of a mere caretaker."

The title "directed play" is a misnomer and has been the source of a great many absurd criticisms of the playground movement. It has suggested to the uninitiated that the playground leaders stand about and order the children to play this game or that, and that in general the directed playground is a place where there is no liberty or spontaneity on the part of the children, that it is an assault on the last stronghold of child liberty and self-expression, and that it must inevitably result in making him a mere automaton.

In actual fact, the work of the play leader has almost nothing in common with this idea of direction. The successful play leader is the one who organizes the children into live teams around various activities and interests; he is the person who can keep a number of

different groups of children interested and busy at the same time; he is to a considerable extent a leader; he is to a considerable extent a teacher of new games, but his prime function is, I conceive, that of an organizer. He is not at all a director in the sense in which it is commonly understood.

The remark that organized play takes away the originality of the children seems to me quite contrary to the teaching both of modern psychology and of experience. The children left to themselves with one or two games seldom invent new ones, whilst children who have learned, through the playground or any other means, a considerable number of games, are constantly modifying old ones or starting ones that are practically new. . . .

An idea of the growth and scope of the playground movement may be had from these general facts covering some phases of development in America.

The amount of money spent and appropriated for playgrounds and accompanying features during six months ending May, 1908, was estimated at $6,000,000. In the eleven years ending 1909, covering practically all the present period of rapid development, about $55,000,000 has been used in the same way. Included in this sum is over $15,000,000 applied to the equipment and general conduct of Chicago recreation centers, $750,000 for San Francisco recreation centers, and $15,000,000 for New York City athletic fields, playgrounds, etc. These figures are not exact, but approximately so. They are quoted to figuratively indicate the size of the work going on.

New York City employs over 1000 teachers in various forms of summer playground and recreation center work. In twenty-four cities in 1905 there were 87 playgrounds; in 1907 in the same cities there were 169, an increase of 94 per cent in two years. In the same cities in 1905 there were 73 park and municipal playgrounds; in 1907 there were 108, an increase of 48 per cent in two years. In 1905 there were 160 playgrounds of all kinds; in 1907 there were 247, an increase of 54 per cent, in two years. These figures do not represent all the playgrounds in the country, but those in 24 cities from which statistics were gathered.

During the years 1906–1909 more than thirty cities, in which playgrounds had been previously maintained by private philanthropy, made appropriations for their conduct or created departments for direct municipal control and administration. This is valuable evidence of growing recognition.

In over two hundred cities playgrounds are now conducted, two-thirds of them being supported from public funds. The number has been doubled in two years.

There have been isolated instances of reduced appropriations, just as appropriations are occasionally unreasonably reduced for public education, usually for purely local reasons. Playgrounds of a right type are equally essential with schools; both may suffer from legislative or political shortsightedness here and there, but the general trend is in all respects rapidly progressive. In the early development of playgrounds there is likely to be — has been — over-enthusiasm and wrong emphasis on some particular points, but usually this is due to misconception or misdirected zeal rather than to any reason justifying withdrawal of support.

The tendency seems to be for public support with money and official interest to be given as willingly as has ever occurred with a movement for the benefit of the people. Those who hold the municipal purse strings may here and there for a time fail to appreciate the value of prevention and decline to grasp the proven fact that such methods as are provided in recreation centers are true educational and social preventives of powerful influence.

History tells us that the first "theorists" who advocated free public schools in the United States had fully as much trouble to educate official minds and get public financial support as the playground advocates are having now. History, studied intelligently, is a wonderful teacher and a great encourager of patient waiting; not idle waiting, but busy working, propagandism and continued practical results for proof.

The development of the playground movement is proceeding at a very satisfactory rate in all ways. Mistakes of the early period are being made good and there are increasing indications that the work is being taken seriously — that it has mostly passed the "fad" stage and become a staple requirement.

State laws requiring, authorizing, or at least permitting and thus officially encouraging, playgrounds, and other means for rational recreation and physical training, have been passed by several state legislatures. New Jersey and Ohio have "enabling acts." Minnesota authorizes bond issues for acquiring playground sites. Several progressive state legislatures have the matter under consideration.

Probably the state action with deepest significance to date is the development of a series of public recreation centers in forty cities and towns that have adopted the compulsory Massachusetts Playground Act of 1908. This law required that each city and town of ten thousand population accepting the act should "maintain at least one public playground conveniently located and of suitable size and equipment for the recreation and physical education of the minors of such city or town." At local elections in December, 1908, and March and April, 1909, the question of accepting the act was voted

upon in forty-two cities and towns of the state; forty communities approved the new law, two disapproved. The total popular vote was 154,495 in favor and 33,886 opposed.

Extracts from *American Playgrounds*, E. B. Mero, The Dale Association, Boston, 1909. Courtesy of the author.

The Playgrounds of Pittsburgh

The development of the playground system of Pittsburgh has been unique in its combination of the playground and vacation school ideals. Further, it has been up to the present time a successful experiment in coöperation between the city administration and an unofficial body. Pittsburgh is not yet among the most favored cities in either the number or material equipment of her playgrounds, but her careful classification and intensive work among the children for the past twelve years have been thought worthy of study by cities having much more extensive systems; and, more, local public sentiment has developed until the time is ripe for a comprehensive city plan.

Pittsburgh had been a typical American industrial city in her single-hearted devotion to business and her apparent indifference to any pleasures other than the satisfaction of success. Her almost unlimited natural resources, which might have given the people a prosperous sense of leisure, her three noble rivers, her coal and iron and oil, were only serving to make the " workshop of the world " a greater workshop — not to make it either beautiful or livable. From the hilltops one might see the outlines of the superb setting of this gate of the west, but at closer range the beauty was lost in narrow streets, incongruous, haphazard buildings and smoke. Characteristically also the city which had forgotten the meaning and the uses of leisure had forgotten the use and value of recreation. Perhaps the Scotch-Irish settlers of an earlier day "took their pleasures sadly," like our English cousins, but it is rather surprising that the large numbers of play-loving Germans should have done so little to provide wholesome amusement for their families.

Twelve years ago Pittsburgh was in as great need of play and playgrounds as it could well be. No town of its size in the country had so neglected to provide for public parks, of which there were only two within the limits of the old city.

In all the mill and tenement districts of Pittsburgh, in the river wards, the " Hill District," the South Side, West End or Hazelwood there was not a foot of land for park or common except a little thirty-foot wide strip of grass on Second Avenue near the Courthouse, and on this the adjoining property holders were looking with covetous

eyes. How could we think of parks and playgrounds when all the land and even the river banks were needed for business? Everywhere the bluffs rose at a very short distance from the rivers, crowding mills and mill workers into uncomfortably close companionship. The small area of level ground down town had been built over many years before congestion began, and the old, one-family houses were overflowing with a dense population for which they had neither enough rooms nor proper sanitary facilities.

The tiny yards were often filled with hovels or sheds used as dwellings, and those remaining were filled with rubbish even as they are to-day. The earlier residents of these neighborhoods had either moved away or had been overwhelmed by successive waves of foreigners, an alien people with lower standards of living, who had thronged through the city's gates and settled down upon the most crowded districts. The situation was made much worse by the high rents, which caused many families occupying only two or three rooms to take as boarders the unmarried mill operatives, whose alternate night and day shifts compelled them to live near their work. Some thousands of beds in these small and ill-ventilated quarters were occupied day and night, creating for the children of the family conditions supposed to belong only to abject poverty. Play in a steaming kitchen or home workshop is difficult and unwelcome, but play in the bedroom of sleeping boarders is impossible.

These practically homeless children had no yards. Their only playground was the street, with its narrow sidewalks and the space between the curbs filled with a constantly increasing traffic. The steep hillsides above gave so insecure a foundation to the rickety frame houses attached to them that these houses were often built into the hill, so that the rear of the lower stories were without light and air. They had not a foot of yard space for play nor even the facilities of modern school buildings in these older wards. The schools had neither gymnasiums nor assembly hall, and their inadequate yards were almost never used, but the children of these districts had little desire to play. The nature of the mill population, recruited yearly from the oppressed and impoverished peasants of southeastern Europe, had much to do with the lack of play spirit. These people seemingly are not rich in play traditions and customs or they leave behind them those which they had at home. We unconsciously assume that all children play because they are children, forgetting that play is a social inheritance. Children, whether savage or civilized, learn their games from one another and from imitating and symbolizing adult life. Most of the essential facts about any civilization are revealed by its games, and in this light American children of to-day are seen to be poorer in imagination, ideality and

invention than their forefathers; for they have lost many of the old games. But the children among the mills were usually of foreign parentage if not of foreign birth. Their new Americanism demanded complete forgetfulness of the old country and its ways. They must adopt the play traditions of their adopted country. But what suggestion of play could they find in a city of iron, whose monster machinery rested neither day nor night? Their surroundings were ugly and forlorn. In many places green things could not grow because of the pall of smoke which swept heavily down, clouding the sunlight, and leaving a deposit of grime on everything, including the children. If the imagination is fed by sense impressions, these children could have little idea of life other than mere existence for the sake of work. Without playground or play traditions or imagination or vitality, we found that these children literally did not know how to play.

In 1896, when the Civic Club recently formed was looking for work, it saw the yardless, forlorn homes of these children and the crowded streets, and determined to open the school yards as playgrounds. It provided a few swings, toys and sand, and by a fortunate mistake put two kindergarteners in charge instead of one. In order to keep the teachers busy the visiting committee suggested that a little program be arranged, dividing the time between stories, songs, directed games and free play for the different groups of children. The first playground was in a ward settled by middle class people, and this plan worked smoothly enough, though the children needed more assistance in play than might have been expected. Then the committee entered two mill neighborhoods and met the real difficulty. Never having lived next to a mill and always having had a yard and a doorstep of their own, they could not understand it. That children should not know how to play was most astonishing. The committee could not believe it. Some of them do not believe it now. They think that the children played while they were not looking. But the trained and experienced teachers soon discovered the spiritual starvation of their charges and set themselves immediately to do intensive work. The morning program began with a march around the yard, led by a drummer boy in the full pride of his noise. Children came running from all directions. They sang and saluted the flag and then were divided into groups for games and free play with the sand and swings. About the middle of the session, toys were put away and all the children gathered in the kindergarten room while the teachers told stories or taught kindergarten games and songs with piano accompaniment. The trained teachers were usually assisted by volunteers from the committee who were not content to observe and criticise, but spent many mornings guarding swings, taking care of babies to relieve the little sister mothers,

telling stories and bringing flowers each week for distribution. After the second year, the Children's Department of the Carnegie Library sent trained story tellers to the playgrounds and also distributed books to the children, coöperating most effectively with the committee.

North of Penn Avenue a playground was opened among colored children whose homes were indescribable and whose parents did not seem to care where their children were. An exception, however, was the mother of one small vagrant who came to the playground and carried him home in high indignation. He had been required to obey some simple rule, and she told the teachers that if her boy could not do as he pleased at school, she would keep him at home, where he could. After four years spent among the white children near here the kindergartner said, "They cannot plan games for themselves, but they now will continue to play after we have left them and you do not know how much that means in this place." Children on some playgrounds did not know why they were there.

One of the pathological conditions observed among Pittsburgh children is their feverish, unchildlike desire for work — real work, not play. This was most intense in the "Hill District," where it was encouraged by the parents. Girls would not come to the playground unless bribed with sewing classes, and parents continually asked that children only six or seven be given sewing. They said, "It is no good to come to play." This is a region of tobacco factories and sweatshops in which, before the passage of the child labor law, children were put into the industrial treadmill very early.

The boys were not so abnormally industrious as the girls. Some were rather too docile and quiet, but quite as often they had acquired the roving spirit of the tramp. The gang was found everywhere among the street-bred children, but it had developed in its most dangerous form in Soho, where, with the Irishman's genius for organization, the older boys had formed a band of robbers that terrorized the neighborhood, while tiny fellows just out of the kindergarten were learning the rules of the game. After taking the names of more than a dozen of these one morning we accidentally learned that every name was an alias! Among the West End mills, where the little girl wanted to ride in the patrol wagon, the boys were nearly all sneak thieves and apparently had no sense of the right of property. They stole things of no value to them, and stole from one another even when honest with the teacher.

More than half of the Pittsburgh playgrounds have been in these sections where the children were subnormal and apparently tending to degeneracy because of their unfortunate surroundings, children whose love of beauty was rudimentary, whose imagination was so dwarfed that they never could think of anything to make or anything

to play and whose knowledge of nature was so limited that only six out of forty knew the robin, while one child asked if a great owl were a humming bird.

In the middle class neighborhoods on both sides of the rivers the children were bright, active and resourceful. It was a joy to be with them, for they knew "what to do next," and they were a great relief to our minds, for we did not want to consider the others the Pittsburgh type.

After five years' experience the committee felt that the children on the playgrounds must be better classified and that more attention should be given to the older boys and girls. Much had been accomplished for individual children. Little sister mothers had gone home with more childlike expressions on their faces. Real mothers and fathers had come with grateful words to the gates and many parents understood their own children better after seeing them happy and obedient in a child world. But the small yards, with their limited apparatus, were adapted only for the use of young children, and even these could not receive enough personal attention from the overtaxed kindergartners. The older girls would not or could not come unless given some definite training. Those who wandered in soon became restless, begging for sewing or some other form of occupation, while the boys made such a nuisance of themselves that they forfeited their privileges early in the season and only remained to menace the "kindergarten" from outside. The committee, therefore, instead of increasing the number of playgrounds, decided to extend the usefulness of those already opened. In order that the older children might learn to play, suitable playfellows for them must be found and their desire for work must be met. After experimenting for two years with vacation school methods, the committee decided to combine the vacation school with the playground. The program for the younger children was unchanged. For those over eight years of age it was revised to include some form of industrial work, music, nature study and clay modeling, or drawing in colors. Part of the morning was always devoted to games. When twelve playground schools had been planned, the committee found itself quite unable to pay the salaries of enough teachers to take care of them. With a courage born of necessity the committee members then assumed the responsibilities of volunteer principals. The twelve small schools were opened with only two or three trained teachers at each center and the street boys came in like a flood. The general chairman's memories of that summer are very vivid — in one school a howling mob of colored boys surrounding the altogether helpless little teacher, who had offered to give them a nature lesson, in another a stampede of Polish, Italian and Irish boys from the drawing-room, where the

necessities of a limited schedule had sent them. Everywhere was an overpowering sense of the street. But every woman stood by her post to the end. By means of careful supervision, weekly teachers' conferences and sheer determination the summer was brought to a successful close.

The development of these "schools of play" has been the work of the last five years. The endeavor has been to base each department on a normal play instinct and to keep them spontaneous, childlike and joyous, without strain and without self-consciousness. In the "carpenter shops," boys are given play models and allowed to use the saw and plane like men. In the art classes, Indian or war stories are illustrated on large sheets of paper, while the girls paint flowers and birds and stencil dainty patterns which they have themselves designed. They use live models whenever possible, and parrots, puppies, cats, geese and chickens are carried from school to school to the great delight of the children. Dancing and rhythmic gymnastic exercises receive much attention, as the children do not know how to use either hands or feet well. They can neither stand nor walk nor throw a ball straight. Classes in cooking and nursing have been fitted in wherever space can be found, the boys being as anxious to cook as the girls. But to the over-industrious teachers and children one inflexible rule has been given — "The play period must not be encroached upon." Every teacher has her game book and must learn to play if she has forgotten how.

As the number of trained teachers has been increased, the volunteer committee has gradually resumed the social duties of earlier days.

One charming custom of our playgrounds is the weekly flower day during the summer, to which flower lovers for twenty miles around the city contribute. Great baskets of flowers are sent from city and suburban gardens and scores of women spend Thursday evening and Friday morning in tying thousands of bouquets. The love of flowers seems to be an absorbing passion, from the tiniest babies to the roughest boys, and for days after the distribution the windows of the tenements are brightened by them.

What have these play schools accomplished in the past seven years? When we go back to the mill neighborhoods we see no outward change. There is the same dirt and overcrowding. The mills have not changed in appearance and the operatives have not changed in character. The population is if anything more dense, but families have been helped, as these children have been trained to make the home cleaner and the clothes less dependent on "the strained devotion of a pin." Little girls have taught their mothers how to cook wholesome, plain food, and their care of the spoiled tenement baby has been more intelligent. At one school the girls were asked if their

babies ever drank coffee. Every one answered, "Yes." When the babies are put on a milk diet instead of one including coffee, doughnuts and bananas, they will lie in a basket or hammock, and the little sisters that tend them can themselves rest or play with other children.

The playgrounds are of help in solving the child labor problem. Many parents put their children to work during the summer vacation, not because they need the pittance which the child can earn, but to save them from the demoralization of the street. When these boys and girls are fourteen years old they seldom return to school. Such parents are more than willing to make use of the playground school instead of the factory or mill. Little Michel Strozzi's father had put him in the glass works for the summer, but he sent him to the vacation school more than a mile away, where the child, small and delicate for his age, ran and jumped and built pyramids with other boys, handled tools, made toys and played with earnestness which expanded his lungs, straightened his back, and steadied his active little brain for another year of effective study.

And the gang has been tamed. The West End gang, whose ideals had been confined to baseball and pugilism, became enthusiastic carpenters. Their devotion to the fine, clean young fellow who was their instructor was pathetic. They followed him around. In order to cure the sneak thieving he would leave all the material out on the ball field and go away without making any boy responsible for it. The next morning every bat and ball and glove would be returned.

In another school the following rules were composed and written on the board by a basketry class of small boys: —

> You must not sass the teacher.
> You must not chew gum.
> You must not talk loud.
> You must not break the rules.

The social results of such diversified and intimate work cannot be estimated. Manual training has been introduced into a number of schools, library groups and clubs have been started, and the settlement classes have continued the spirit of the playgrounds.

We would rather judge them, however, by the great play festival at Schenley Park, which closed the season of 1908. Three thousand children who had been regular enough in their attendance to learn games and drills and folk dances came from every part of the city, flying their school pennants from the car windows, waving the school

colors and shouting the school yells. At the top of the hill they formed in procession and marched down eight abreast, singing the playground marching song as they passed in review before the mayor and city officials. First came the babies, with their barrows and buckets and shovels, their toys and pin wheels; then children a little older in flower chains and horse reins; boys on stilts and girls with rag dolls of their own making; then boys and girls bringing toys, carts and all manner of other things which they had made; and last the symbolic procession of the arts and crafts of the play schools. The carpenters in cap and apron, the housewives dressed as Puritan maidens, the cooks in white and the nurses in blue with the red cross on their arm, the metal workers with their mimic swords, the gardeners in overalls and farmers' hats, with home-made rakes over their shoulders, the peasant dancers, the singers, the basket makers disguised as real Indians, the potters and the painters in blouses, the weavers and the needle workers, all carrying their banners and the tools of their craft. The teachers marched with the children, and janitors and custodians who would not be left out brought up the rear. Before the procession was ended a sudden storm drove the children into the buildings near by, drenched but happy. After the storm they trooped out again and scattered over the field for games. Drills, dances, races and other contests, and a wonderful circus for the boys followed quickly enough to be bewildering to the spectators. At any time when children were free they wandered about the park wondering at so much unused space. Then, with the assembly, the flag salute and the singing of America, the long lines of children were off and away in perfect order, yet without stiffness or constraint, after the "happiest day of their lives."

The playgrounds and recreation centers of Pittsburgh have only touched the fringe of the tenement and workingmen's neighborhoods, but the problem is now plainly stated. Its solution is a question of time. The playground movement in America is justified by the immediate response which has come to it from cities and villages and even country places; and the desire for freedom, the play instinct, is not least insistent in our great industrial centers. In Pittsburgh playgrounds are no longer a luxury — they are a necessity. Because of the need for relaxation from the pressure of city life and labor, because children do not find in the street and the school and the home — especially the tenement home — all the necessities of life and growth, and because the European comes to us as raw material needing much social training and discipline to fit him for the responsibilities of American citizenship, we must have playgrounds.

The recreation center is one of the great agencies in counteracting the forces which tend to disintegrate and desocialize our modern

industrial cities. Here will be emphasized the human factor which is reduced to its lowest terms in highly specialized forms of manufacture and distribution. Here all the children of a neighborhood will gather for play. The center will have a playroom for little ones too young to attend school, and after school hours in winter and on the long summer mornings it will provide the place and materials for the play of school children. By intelligent direction of the play instinct it will make the natural connection between play and work. For the young people it will provide a place for wholesome amusement at a critical time in their lives when the home cannot and ought not to confine their growing social interests within its walls, but should keep in touch with all these interests and be related to them. This relation is natural in the democratic freedom of the recreation center, and for tired fathers and mothers, who need a place where they may meet their neighbors and widen their acquaintance, it will have something corresponding to the town room of old New England.

The schoolhouse may often be used to meet the social needs of our congested neighborhoods. School yards can be open in summer and after school hours in winter, and should be supplied with apparatus and directors of play. The building can also be open in the winter for the same purposes. But few school buildings in the older parts of Pittsburgh are capable of extended use, and wherever the school's limitations are reached the distinctive play center must supply its deficiencies.

The recreation center has a larger field than the school and appeals to many adults who will not go to the school, but will respond quickly to the call to play. In its broadest application this may save the laborer from the downward pull of unrelieved drudgery. Through it some of the traditions of beauty which are the inheritance of our newest citizens may become our own. What vandals we have been to set Italy only to digging in our ditches and Greece to stoking furnaces! We have piled money upon money in our safety deposit vaults, but we have wasted our human riches in a way that is even more stupid than it is cruel.

To the child of poverty, the city must restore his birthright by obliterating the slum, making healthy bodies and minds possible for all by setting the little ones of the tenement and factory in real child gardens. To the boys and girls of all classes the city must give a generous education of body and mind. The playground and the school must coöperate in guiding and developing their latent powers. The city must re-create the bond of fellowship between the poor and the rich that shall make their common human interests paramount to the competitive war which sets them in opposing and jealous

camps. The common denominator may most often be found in the play spirit, and to this we may look for the civic unity of the coming time.

Beulah Kennard, President of the Pittsburgh Playground Association. Extracts from a history prepared for *The Pittsburgh Survey*. Published in the *Annual Report of the Pittsburgh Playground Association*, 1908. Courtesy of the author.

Comment on the Social Significance of the Playground Movement

One of the important extensions of modern educational activity is that connected with school and municipal playgrounds. For many years, even for centuries, the importance of play has been dimly recognized. It is only within the last few decades that the individual and social values of play have been adequately understood, at least to the extent of serious and systematic attempts to realize those values in a general and practical way.

That play is a necessity for the normal development of children and recreation for the mental and physical health of adults is no longer a matter requiring argument. But while it is important for the individual boy or girl to have a chance to play, the present-day problem of play extends far beyond the needs of the individual. Play is more and more recognized to be a profound social necessity Careful statistical studies show that, in Chicago for instance, the establishment of supervised playgrounds has very appreciably diminished juvenile delinquency in the areas within which they are located. This is a natural result of taking children off the streets and away from evil amusement resorts out of school hours and in vacation times. Through the playground also the evil influences of the gang are diminished and the socially important virtues are given an opportunity to develop. The fresh air exercise is also an important factor in diminishing the social menace of tuberculosis.

Altogether the social importance of the various play and recreation facilities, both for the crowded city, for the smaller towns and even for the rural districts, is abundantly justified. The development of playgrounds and their proper supervision thus appears to be a matter of general social concern and a legitimate avenue for social expenditure. We have referred to the playground movement as an extension of modern educational activity. This is true whether the playgrounds

are controlled by the board of education or by some other agency such as an independent playground association or the municipality itself. Play is an educator and the need for play is a part of the general need of education, whether it is handled by the traditional educational machinery or not. The educational needs of modern society are broader than can be met by any single agency. This is a principle which has already been emphasized and it should be constantly borne in mind as we consider the social aspects of education. We are not, however, breaking with tradition when we include the development of playgrounds among modern educational agencies. The playground has always been, at least theoretically, an adjunct of the public school. The recognition of the educational and social possibilities of the playground has, however, outstripped our clumsy and old-fashioned educational machinery.

As has been pointed out in other connections, the first steps of educational progress are often taken in a more or less general way by society as a whole or by various private and semi-private agencies outside the public instruments of education. That this should be so is really an indication that the social body is in a normal, healthful condition. It means that it is capable of feeling the pressure of new needs, and that it has sufficient vitality to respond to this pressure whether the organized machinery for meeting these needs is available or not. The needs of a growing, of a dynamic community will always tend to outstrip the normal agencies of social expression.

Here we are not primarily concerned with the problems of organization and administration or of the equipment of playgrounds. These are of course important phases and about them an extensive literature has grown up. It is the social significance of the movement that concerns us. This is well emphasized in the papers which precede. The extracts from Mero's work, *American Playgrounds*, state clearly the well recognized social benefits accruing to a community from some sort of recreation centers. He also discusses the important problem of the playground director and by a few telling statistics proves how widespread and growing is the social approval of the playground movement. Miss Kennard's paper is reprinted because of its forceful presentation of what the playground movement is accomplishing for social betterment in one city, a city which had, to start with, almost

no public sentiment in favor of such work. A study of such a paper as this will be of interest not merely to the student of educational and sociological principles, but also to all those, whether teachers or not, who are concerned with the practical problems of social amelioration.

A study such as we make here should be only preliminary to actual work. Hence each one should familiarize himself as fully as possible with the practical and administrative details of the playground movement. The appended bibliography will be a guide to these aspects.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE SCHOOL GARDEN, ITS EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL VALUE

Social Significance of School Gardens

A SCHOOL garden may be defined as any garden where children are taught to care for flowers, or vegetables, or both, by one who can, while teaching the life history of the plants and of their friends and enemies, instill in the children a love of outdoor work and such knowledge of natural forces and their laws as shall develop character and efficiency.

To make it apparent that size is not a crucial matter, a second definition may be that it "is any garden in which a boy or girl of school age takes an active interest. It may be a tiny seedling growing in a flowerpot indoors or an extensive series of garden crops in a large garden outdoors. The gardens may be collective or individual or both. In all these cases the plants to be grown are much the same and the methods involved in growing them are similar," [1] while the underlying purpose of the teaching is threefold; educational, industrial, and social — or moral, since it is only in relation to others that moral conduct or character exists. [1]

As the founder of the children's school farm in DeWitt Clinton Park, New York, wrote in her first report: —

"I did not start a garden simply to grow a few vegetables and flowers. The garden was used as a means to show how willing and anxious children are to work, and to teach them in their work some necessary civic virtues: private care of public property, economy, honesty, application, concentration, self-government, civic pride, justice, the dignity of labor, and the love of nature by opening to their minds the little we know of her mysteries, more wonderful than any fairy tale." [2]

The virtues here enumerated can best be taught in the school garden with the individual plot and ownership, because there the interest is greater, the rewards are more desirable, and cause and effect are more

[1] Weed and Emerson, *The School Garden Book*, p. 3.

[2] Mrs. Henry Parsons in *Report of the First Children's School Farm in New York City* for 1902–1904.

frequently and clearly demonstrable. The cultivation of such virtues is at the minimum when the garden of a school is only a bit of decorative planting in the care of which the children have no part. School-ground decoration of this type is better than none, for like pictures on the schoolroom walls, it sends out a daily influence in behalf of orderliness and beauty. So much the more reason why the decorative planting should be of the best, that it may teach symmetry of arrangement, harmony of line and color, and unity throughout.

Such a garden may inspire some degree of civic pride in the children and some respect for public property through the feeling that their school home is superior to that of others. But these ideas are likely to be limited, in practical results, to children who have an eye for natural beauty. Introduce but a little bulb planting by the children, however, a little active participation in the care of the plants and grounds, and at once to each and every child the garden becomes "our" garden, and an injury to it a personal affair; any praise or merit becomes a comment about something "I made or helped to make." With this sense of participation comes genuine private care of public property. Of necessity, there must follow with this kind of interest many self-determined convictions on the part of the child as to what is morally as well as culturally right and wrong in the garden. Lessons like these become gradually ingrained modes or habits of thought, and the child is toughened morally.

The larger the field the gardening offers, other things being equal, the greater the opportunity for development of the child. Hence, the plea for individual beds and also for coöperative labor on larger areas, as on paths and on class or sample plots. The union of these two kinds of tasks best illustrates life where each individual works out his own salvation; if happily and usefully, he must do it with due consideration for others and for his own share of responsibility for the public good. . . .

As a rule, the normal schools have been the first to indorse the school garden and to try out its value, while boards of education have viewed it as a new thing requiring it to prove its educational and social worth. Frequently they give it a meager support, recognizing it perhaps by the appointment of a nature study teacher as a supervisor of school gardens, but granting little or no money toward the maintenance of the garden or a reasonable salary to cover the summer's work of supervision. Sometimes this lack of support is due to a division of opinion among the school commissioners or among members of the boards of estimate. It may meet the opposition of the older and more conservative principals of the city, or of a ward politician who sees no sense in it and is afraid that the voters will look upon it as a new fad or a new excuse for increasing taxes.

Generally, the school garden idea has captured the educational leaders in our country, made friends for itself among the most progressive of our teachers, old and new, and won the children wherever it has been tried. One drawback to its rapid growth is that there is still confusion because of the stress that has been laid sometimes upon theoretical views; or upon its peculiar fitness to meet the special needs of particular places. These lesser questions can be safely left to settle themselves, for a school garden is like a bank in that it may be drawn upon for values of different kinds to meet different needs, as one may require money in the form of gold or silver, check or draft. In a school garden the educational, economic, æsthetic, utilitarian, or sociological value may be made most prominent, according to circumstances. Its power for developing a child's nature should not be confined to only one of these viewpoints; neither should it be considered appropriate to one stratum of society or to a few classes of children only. It may ease the condition of the poor and bring profit and pleasure to their children. To the children of the rich and well to do it will give pleasure, and should teach some needed lessons in personal responsibility and in the consequences of broken laws from which it is human nature to think that one may escape.

So long as the educational value of school gardens is not fully recognized by local school boards, just so long will they be dependent for their support upon philanthropic societies or upon the good will of private individuals, and be subject to the discouragement of loose tenure and shift of locality as land values rise. Until very recently those interested in agriculture or horticulture or in attempts to benefit social conditions have been most active in establishing them.[1]

It is interesting to note how many gardens like those at Yonkers, at Pittsburgh, at Dubuque, and in part at Cleveland, have developed into social centers. Among educators, friends of the school garden are multiplying rapidly, and increasing numbers believe "that instruction such as is given in the school garden is of the right kind. It arouses interest in real things; it develops judgment; it brings the child in contact with his environment, and, above all, it gives that opportunity for placing responsibility on the child without which

[1] The National Plant, Flower and Fruit Guild encourages school gardens and through its local branches assists in starting them.

The International School Farm League seeks to develop the school garden in connection with schools, parks, institutions and day camps, as an educational, recreational, sociological and remedial agency.

The Gardening Association of America, organized October, 1909, in Buffalo, gives equal emphasis to vacant lot and school gardening and will encourage both because of their tendency to benefit the poor, to show the power of self-help, to further agricultural interests, to lessen the evil influences of city life and to cultivate a love of growing plants.

character is not developed. The activities of school garden work are natural to the child and give much needed respite from schoolroom restraint. . . . The child's mind gets growth out of them because it can understand them. Not only does the school garden serve to educate and train, but it supplies a kind of knowledge that is highly useful and cultivates a taste for an honorable and remunerative vocation." [1]

Perhaps, best of all, is that teaching of the saner and sweeter side of life which comes when the school garden takes the child off the city streets, away from crowded alleys, vicious surroundings, and, in the country, often from misspent leisure; when it finds happy work for idle hands, health for enfeebled bodies, and training for the will and affections. If you doubt the last service, watch the child's love for the flowers and vegetables he has to grow, and the affectionate pride of his parents in the success of his garden. Sometimes a selfish interest in what the child can provide for the family table has brought him more consideration and developed greater gentleness and cooperation in the family life. It has proved just as well to "stand in" with the little farmer who can provide otherwise unattainable delicacies of fresh vegetables, salads and soup materials.

All these things make any kind of a garden worth while, and, if we utilize the interest in it to freshen the wearisome tasks of the schoolroom, there is an added value. The dullest child will brighten as he or she lays out the little plot, figures out the crops, or calculates the gains. The telling of a story with innocent and pleasurable self interest as the pivotal point, opens a way into an easier and better land of composition than was dreamed of before: while history and geography, textiles, food and clothing have surprising relations to a garden which an occasional apt reference or illustration can bring out. More and more it is being made the partner of physical geography. In every school it should be the twin of nature study and usually the companion of manual training. It is easy to show how much we owe to the husbandman; how the life of the whole round world is interdependent, or, in a child's phraseology, "hangs together"; how tilling of the soil is a fundamental necessity. No child who has ever loved a garden will despise the farmer, for he has learned by experience to respect manual labor; and that brains and hands must work together to bring good crops. . . .

School gardens may be regarded from several points of view and cultivated with one or more of several aims in mind so far as the immediate or future good of the child is concerned. But whatever the special purpose, there should be kept in mind the far reaching influences that will pervade a neighborhood when a successful school

[1] W. J. Spillman, *Significance of the School Garden Movement.*

garden so inspires the children and parents that little gardens in home yard or window box spring up as restful, cheerful bits of color. These are a bond of sympathy and pleasure among the poor, the well-to-do, and the wealthy. There is no hobby that may be so inexpensive; no subject of conversation less likely to become disagreeably personal; no topic offering better opportunities of give and take in the matter of experience than that of flowers. So it follows that a love of flowers tends to level class distinctions; to give openings for real friendliness based upon mutual interests among people whose business and environment may be vastly different. Moreover, the individual betterment that comes from any worthy hobby follows in the wake of flower culture. . . .

At the present time there are, as has been said, school gardens of many varying kinds carried on for different immediate ends, though with the one underlying and universal purpose of helping the children to an all-round development. Some of these gardens will be briefly sketched. It is probably true that the mental picture which the term "school garden" most frequently calls up is that of a plot of ground laid out in slim individual beds where the common vegetables, together with one or two varieties of flowers, are grown; and larger areas for flowers and observations, or sample plots, on which are grown various plants including the common troublesome garden weeds. In such a garden the children may learn the joy of individual ownership and of coöperative or group work as well. They will at the same time, through sharing in the work on the larger plots, become familiar with a wider range of plant life than that which could be grown on their own small plots. Such a mental picture may have for its setting the congested quarter of a great city, a bit of public park or playground, a part of town or village schoolyard, or it may be an isolated vacant lot transformed.

To know how to plan, to care for and conduct such a garden requires the fundamental knowledge necessary to success in carrying on any kind of a school garden. For this reason, and because it is more likely to be the sort of garden attempted in any locality as an initial experiment, it is here taken as the basic type, and to it and the work that may be centered in it, the greater number of the following chapters are devoted. One may find such gardens in the East and South, in our Middle and Western states, in Canada and in the West Indies, though in the last the nature of the crops will vary considerably from the uniformity common on the continent. Its plots may be tiny or big, its equipment small or large, the scope of its work narrow or wide, its quality and quantity graded or ungraded; but as far as it goes, its teaching and experience are fundamental, whether for teacher or child. So to this "fundamental type" we give *par excellence* the

name " school garden," because in the mind of psychologist, educator and teacher, it is a school in which to cultivate, to develop, children quite as much as or more than to teach them how to grow flowers or to mature vegetables.

This fundamental type offers the largest cultural development for children in the smallest area. It demands of the teacher either little or much training, according to the scope of work carried on in it. Nowhere is less previous experience required except in the tiny posy garden or where, as in some formal gardens, the work of teacher and children is confined to a very small amount of supervised planting, whether of bulbs or seeds, and to the necessary later care in watering and in keeping the soil loose. From the likeness of much of the work in the " fundamental type " to truck gardening, and from the children's delight in being known as little farmers, owing to their small farms, this basic type might be called not only the " school garden," but the " school garden farm." . . .

It is a far cry from the complete outfit of the ideal garden to taking up the pavement in a school yard and making two by two foot beds for tiny farms. But, as one cannot expect completeness, so one may hope to avoid such impoverishment as the two by two foot plots would imply. If you cannot do any better, begin with the two by two foot bed and comfort yourself with the thought of the lesser sum of money needed and the probability that the question of soil will resolve itself into buying a few bushels or, at most, a few loads of good garden soil, such as would be necessary in the case of a roof garden. In cities, parts, so to speak, of the ideal garden may be scattered judiciously among the various schools, in their yards or on near-by vacant lots. For instance, one school may have only the garden for school-ground decoration, very likely of the formal sort. Here, where plant lines must harmonize with architectural lines and a color scheme of continual bloom be carried out, the training of a landscape gardener, or the advice of an expert, is necessary. But if the outline of such a garden be prepared, the teacher can follow it; the children can help in cultivating the hedges, trees and flowers. The garden becomes an object lesson and pleasure to the neighborhood and of permanent and increasing value to the school. To the children, it will be a means of development in more than one direction.

A pretty story is told in connection with the formal garden of the Watterson School, Cleveland, Ohio. At the third clipping of their privet hedge the cuttings were taken into the schoolroom and the children were asked if they cared enough for their hedge to think that other children in a distant school building would also like to own one. They were quite sure that a hedge like theirs would be much appreciated. The curator of the school gardens then explained that if the

Watterson children were willing, besides giving the cuttings, to do a little work for those distant schoolmates, the latter could have a hedge. They cheerfully agreed to help. For busy work, they stripped the leaves. Then, they gathered the cuttings into groups of twos and threes, of fives and tens, and then into fifties. These large bundles were sent to another school where the children would lend their cold frames to "bank" or house the cuttings during the winter and to give them an early start so that the new hedge would be ready as soon as possible to make rapid and sturdy growth. Some of the children in the Watterson School were given the stripped leaves, with which they were told to lay out on their desks designs of any shape. Later, there was a little nature study talk upon the construction of the leaf and how it serves the parent plant, and attention was called to the difference in color of the upper and under sides. The children were asked to remake their designs, using the two shades for color effect. They were promised that they would be shown how the young plants had lain dormant through the winter and how they started into life in the early spring, and were told that they could visit the other school to see the hedge which they had prepared for its boys and girls.

The story suggests gardens for special purposes; as for preparation for truck farming ("training gardens"); for exchange of plants; for forcing; for nursery or forestry purposes; or the kitchen garden which might be attached to a school where the cooking courses were particularly good. In connection with any of these gardens, there might be a few flowers or a floral border so that the work could be partly individual, partly coöperative. In the kitchen garden there could be, in addition, observation plots showing sweet herbs, grains, flax, hemp and cotton, or the raw products necessary for the commonest household tasks. Observation plots on a large numerical scale are necessary in botanical gardens laid out to show the classification of plants by families or according to their industrial or commercial uses. Here, again, plots can be apportioned to individual children, and special cultural directions may be given to each when necessary. The exchange garden above referred to is carried on perhaps as much for the benefit of the parents as for the little ones. It is a central garden to which men, women and children can bring their extra or duplicate plants and exchange them for those of which others had a surplus. In Cleveland such a garden made in one year 20,000 exchanges. That means not only a good deal of pleasure, but much return for little money. . . .

Sometimes the easiest and most tactful way to secure a school garden in a remote community is to begin with a topographical or chart garden; that is, one based on exploration of the surrounding country. Such would naturally lead up to interest in a wild flower

garden and to the decoration of the school gardens. Where the schoolhouse is an ugly building on a small, unsightly lot, and where farmers have no use for "fads," the topographical garden may be the only one possible. It may be well, therefore, to make very clear what is meant, especially as through such means a very conservative community may sometimes be led to take a lively interest not only in improving the school premises, but in permitting an experiment in vegetable gardening, which later may prove a boon to both adults and children.

Most children are glad to tell you where a unique tree, a noticeable bush or rare flower, is to be found. With the schoolhouse as a starting point, map out the way to find it. Gradually enlarge the drawing to indicate the contour of the land as the children describe road, hill, swamp or plain. Mark upon it the noticeable trees of houses or even big rocks or bowlders. Later fill in the map so as to suggest the kinds of growth in the bordering woods or meadows, first the larger sorts and then the smaller, gathering as you chart them topics for talks to which a part of one day each week may be given. At these times, the teacher should help the children sort out the knowledge which each has contributed, and should amplify and intensify it for all. Some of the children will fetch specimens. With a little encouragement, they will be willing to bring enough earth, if necessary, to start a wild flower garden, like the one at the George Putnam School previously mentioned as the first in America, or the 10 by 100 foot strip of wild flower garden at the Cobbett School, Lynn, Massachusetts, where several hundred shrubs, woody vines, ferns and herbs are gathered. "From hepatica and bloodroot to aster and witch hazel they flourish in their season." Some of the rarer plants were brought or sent from central New York, from New Hampshire and from distant parts of Massachusetts.

However, one need not in any rural district go far to find suitable material for fern or wild flower border, for shrubbery or for trees fit to be transplanted. There are few plants that, like the arbutus and fringed gentian, rebel at civilization, and many that increase in size and brilliancy under cultivation. That they are hardy and persistent when once rooted, twenty years' experience in gardening in a city back yard has proved. Dutchman's breeches (Dicentra), hepatica, spring beauty, anemone, jack-in-the-pulpit, columbine, adder's tongue, asters, goldenrod, violets of several kinds, the rose marsh mallow and the wild sunflower all bear transplanting and cultivation. Raspberry vines and blackberry bushes can be utilized for the garden as well as wild grape, woodbine or Virginia creeper, bittersweet, clematis and some of the other native vines. The hobble bush has beauty of blossom and leafage. Thorn apple, flowering dogwood, the elders,

wild barberry and bob sumac provide good shrubbery, and several of them furnish rich color and effective outlines in the fall and winter. The mountain ash and the white birch are treasures, and many a seedling elm, oak or maple is easily found.

In some way establish a bond of interest between the school and the home growing of flowers. Start a plant or two in the schoolroom window.[1] One teacher in a rural school began his flower garden with a single fuchsia and in two or three years had a large family of plants, including many grandchildren of the original flower. In fact, that family became so numerous under judicious slippings that its descendants were farmed out or given for adoption into the homes of grateful children who frequently offered slips of other flowers in return. To ask for a slip is in many communities a most acceptable compliment to the successful grower of house plants. Many of the begonias are easily propagated from pieces of stem or leaf, and their bright colors and unique leafage make them universally pleasing. For outdoor work about the school, ask for roots of lilac, forsythia or yellow flowering willow, flowering almond or flowering quince, bridal wreath or peonies.

Strive for a clean school yard as you would for a clean schoolroom, but do not stop there. Beauty has its moral effect on a child. It is useless to expect untarnished morality from children whose parents provide ramshackle outbuildings and schools uninteresting and repellent outside and in, where no playgrounds exist and where no provision is made to keep investigating minds safely busy when not occupied with lessons. Clothe your outbuildings with vines, screen them with groups of trees, plant your grounds with things that invite the children to note their growth or to enjoy their welcome shade. Make school a delightful place in which to linger because it has so many charming interests. Childish activity whether of mind or body needs direction. As in the childhood of the race, morality was an unknown thing, so, too, in childhood, some of the evils that we most deplore are at certain ages largely the outburst of the investigating spirit spending itself upon what is near at hand in default of better, happier things with which to fill otherwise vacant moments.

No scheme or plan for the decoration of the rural school can be completed in one season, but a beginning, pleasing to the eye, is a good thing, a fertile seed of usefulness.

In rural districts, gardens for experiment or sample plots for observation are sometimes possible even on a relatively microscopic scale. Classroom demonstration of the qualities of soils and other

[1] At the least, one can have that always interesting thing, an eggshell garden, for it needs but a few seeds, one or two of them planted in each shell that has been filled with a little rich soil. Later the seedlings may be transplanted into the school or home garden.

experiments may illustrate the growth upon these small plots. The country boy, of course, has no use for farming on tiny beds that to city children seem veritable plantations. Such baby farming and such instruction in the first use of tools as would be welcome in the city would be ridiculous in the country. Possibly a farmer's boy hates the whole business of farming and longs for the day when he can get away from it and enjoy life more as he fancies his city cousins do. His father, perhaps, has no use for the new school frills, and does not want interference or intrusion on his home ground. But it may be feasible to introduce school gardening by suggesting that one boy or group of boys should conduct home experiments, as, for instance, with two apple trees or two patches of potatoes, spraying the one and not the other, and having different children make occasional visits to compare notes.

On the other hand, throughout New England and New York, many schoolhouses have barely ground enough for the children's recess. Yet even so, if a few feet of ground could be planted, for example, to cabbages or potatoes, an experiment could be conducted that would touch the taxpayer's pocket, dissolve the shell of prejudice, and win at least a grudging acknowledgment that there is some merit in school gardening. Such a plot could be divided into halves and one part planted with selected eyes from large, well-formed potatoes, while the other half should be seeded with eyes from small or indifferent stock. One half of each division should be carefully sprayed against the ravages of the potato bug. The other half should be left to care for itself. The result would show the relative value of the crops in a most convincing way. Ten cabbages would demonstrate the ravages of the common cabbage butterfly and, incidentally, of the cabbage root maggot and the flea beetle in localities where they abound. Four heads of cabbage should be carefully screened by one piece of cheese cloth or netting and four by another, while two may be left uncovered. Those uncovered will be exposed while young seedlings and tender plants to attacks of the beetle and the maggot. Those covered will be protected from the cabbage butterfly; but it is proposed to introduce under one of the screens all the white butterflies of this variety of pierids which the children may catch. Later, the riddled leaves of one group of plants will show the ravages of the caterpillar hatched from the butterflies' eggs, and the life history of the insect may be presented as a complete story for the children. . . .

Many schools in country districts could follow the custom adopted in the cities of giving out seeds for the children to plant in their home gardens, and the teacher's social call might include supervision of these. Speaking of the work in Concord Normal School, Athens, West Virginia, where seeds are distributed to the children to be planted

in home plots with supervision and advice by the head of the department, the principal, Mr. C. L. Bemis, writes:—

"The reason we are doing our work in this way is because we have no ground of our own for such work. I think I should prefer the way we are doing it, anyway, because it makes the parents more interested in the work, and all the child raises is his own. *It is necessary, however, for him to return seeds to the school for those taken away from the school. He has to carry the plant through from the seed to the seed.*" [1]

In the South, also, attempts are being made to interest the farmers' children in flower or vegetable gardens of their own. Among the Central states, as in Ohio, the work in this line sometimes does not take the form of technical instruction in agriculture, but rather of teaching that shall open the children's eyes to the growing life about them. Sometimes this is done by reading from the works of such authors as Riley, Carleton, Burroughs, who write of the farm, woods and fields; sometimes by stories of what men like Burbank have done, or of the achievements of men like McCormick who have invented labor-saving tools. In garden and nature study work the object is to make the country boy realize the natural forces with which he must deal, the wonderful changes that go on about him; to lead him to scientific understanding of his own environment, appreciation of his economic position, and to realization of the æsthetic enjoyment possible in his surroundings.[2] Such intellectual training will not carry his interests away from the farm, as is so often the case in school life now, but will provide breadth of culture, make rural life fuller, and give a mental alertness useful for all time, whether the boy remains upon the farm or enters industrial or professional life.

We of the north Atlantic coast pride ourselves upon the little red schoolhouse, and the church steeples that crown our New England hills; upon the virtue that came out of them and went into the making of our country. But this is now largely a matter of historic pride and poetic sentiment only. To-day the New England schoolhouse is too frequently a blot on our civilization; a raw, ugly object, spoiling the

[1] The italics are the author's. Following the circuit of the free traveling libraries in seven of the Southern states, over a hundred school gardens have been established in connection with the rural schools.

[2] "If the farmer as he trudges down the corn rows under the June sun sees only clods and weeds and corn, he leads an empty and a barren life. But if he knows of the work of the moisture in air and soil, of the use of air to root and leaf, of the mysterious chemistry in the sunbeam, of the vital forces in the growing plant, and of the bacteria in the soil liberating its elements of fertility; if he sees all the relation of all these natural forces to his own work; if he can follow his crop to the market, to foreign lands, to the mill, to the oven and the table, — he realizes that he is no mere toiler." — FELMLEY DAVID, *Agriculture and Horticulture in the Rural Schools.*

beauty of the landscape, indecent in its surroundings; of rude, unlovely exterior, with only the flag as an inspiration; and with a dismal, uncomfortable interior for tasks that have but little vital connection with the life which the children lead. Even in the largest buildings and with the wider curriculum of the schools of the small towns there is no place for the development of the farmer's boy as there is for the child of the merchant, mechanic, artisan or artist. There is no outlook toward the agricultural college as toward the college of arts and science or the special professional or trade school. "Manual training has brought the shop and school together, but the farm and school are still far apart."

It is possible to make the school and its surroundings more attractive, to give its dry routine a closer connection with the children's daily lives, and through it to add new interests to the life of field and wood. It does not need a nurseryman to give a lesson in transplanting vines or bushes or young trees; to set out a growth of baby pine or red cedars for a windbreak or rapidly growing sumac for a screen; to plant the royal aster or glowing goldenrod in a dismal corner, or train the clematis to cover bare walls or fences. This much can surely be attempted and possibly also a small vegetable garden or trial plots on a larger scale for work with grains and fertilizers. Experimental plots are better on the rural school ground, especially where land is cheap, for they can be made to bear directly upon the economic interests of the community. Moreover, the cost of land increases, and if its purchase is deferred from year to year in rural towns, whole districts become built up and we soon have the problem of the congested city district.

Extracts from Louise Greene's *Among School Gardens*, publication of the Russell Sage Foundation. Courtesy Charities Publication Committee.

Comment on the Social Significance of School Gardens

The preceding extracts from Miss Greene's book, *Among School Gardens*, state admirably the more important social meanings and educational values in school gardening. No line of recent educational extension is fraught with larger possibilities of social betterment than this outdoor work with growing plants. Miss Greene's entire book should be carefully read by all serious students of modern educational advance.

On the educational side, in its narrower sense, the school garden furnishes the children with concrete and live material for almost all the regular school studies. Not merely is nature study vitalized by

such a contact with growing things, but its scope is also greatly broadened, hosts of new and interesting problems are suggested to teachers and pupils alike. These gardening activities also contribute much concrete interest to the child's work in number, in language and even in geography. The recreational effects are equally important. The open-air work and open-air inte est produces in children a healthy-mindedness of incalculable value for progress in the regular school studies.

When we pass from the narrower educational values to the social consequences, we find that these are far-reaching and significant. As Miss Greene points out, the school garden has had an appreciable influence in diminishing juvenile delinquency. This is the result not merely of giving idle children something worth while to do, but also of the open-air work itself. It is well known that vigorous work in the open air and open-air interests constitute a decided moral tonic for delinquents, and, if to them, certainly for the normal pupils as well. Open-air work is a valuable corrective in reform schools. Its results are so astonishingly beneficial that one might almost conclude that indoor work and bad air is a prime factor in moral deterioration.

The social and moral value of school gardening comes, then, in part from the free open-air exercise, in part also from the implanting in the child's mind of healthful objective interests and, furthermore also, from the opportunity afforded for the development of true social activities and social interests such as are too often entirely lacking in the schoolroom. Here the children may work *together;* each may contribute something of interest and value to the rest through the faithful cultivation of his own little plot. It may be fruit or seeds to exchange with others, or beautiful effects through flowers in which all may take delight. Every school garden affords many valuable opportunities for mutual helpfulness.

Nor is the social value of school gardens confined to the little school community. It has been found to extend beyond to the homes and to the neighborhood generally. Unsightly and unhealthy back yards are cleaned up, and gardens for beauty and for profit are started in them. The interest in gardening leads to a utilizing of vacant lots on the part of the older as well as the younger members of the family, and the economic returns to hard-working people are often consider-

able. Through the school garden the country boy may for the first time have awakened in him an interest in the scientific aspects of soil cultivation, and the city boy may have opened to him an unsuspected world of interests and possibilities for a life career. But whether either finds his life work in some form of soil cultivation, at least both alike acquire a new outlook on life and, along with it, one of the most healthful and delightful and soul-restoring forms of recreation known to man.

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CHAPTER IX

INDUSTRIAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION, ITS SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE

The Fundamental Principles of Continuation Schools

THE wealth of a country depends not only on the natural riches of its soil, but also on the men who turn these riches to account. It has always been the aim of industrial states, or of states that desired to become industrial, to produce human material more and more fitted for their task. It was principally this object that induced absolute monarchs in Europe to establish primary schools. These schools were to contribute toward making industries, or, as they were then called, manufactures, a more productive source of the state revenue.

But the farther we penetrate into the question of educating the masses to industrial capacity, the more we recognize that the problem before us is not special but general, that it is, in fact, nothing less than the problem of educating the whole man. Educational works in the United States are full of this discovery. In a description of the Lynn works, Alexander Magnus says: —

"There are three main problems that enter into production: the machine problem, the material problem, the men problem. The latter is the most difficult problem, but also the most important one, in competitive activity."

In an article in the *American Federation of Labor* on industrial education I find the sentence: —

"There is a growing feeling that is gaining rapidly in strength, that in industrial education the human element must be recognized, and cannot be so disregarded as to make the future workers mere automatic machines."

This is perfectly true. The one-sided education of workmen to dexterity is only an apparent solution of the problem. Of course, industry requires an army of men trained to perform them. But dexterity only attains its full value when it is based on insight. And one thing more is necessary. We require not only dexterity and insight, but also the education of the moral character. Perhaps this development of character is the most important part even in industrial education, for firmness and principle will lead a man to acquire dexterity and insight, but dexterity and insight are not always placed in the service of character.

I do not assert that it always makes itself immediately felt, when any branch of industry neglects to train its workmen to insight and character. Many industries may profit for a longer or shorter period by their one-sided purely selfish training. But if all the industries of a state were to confine themselves to the development of dexterity, or even of dexterity and intelligence, the disadvantages of this method would soon make themselves apparent. For neither men, nor the states which they form, nor the industries which they carry on, can live an isolated life. They are all bound together by more or less common interests, linked together by a thousand chains. The individual is not only a workman in one branch or another, he is also a citizen of the state. And as a citizen, his welfare and interests are inseparably connected with the welfare and interests of all other citizens. Every form of education, whatever its special aims may be, must further the peaceful disentanglement of these interwoven interests — at least, that is to say, every form the realization of which requires schools supported by public money.

It might be urged — and I know that Americans favor this view — that it is not incumbent on the general community to provide more than a general education. To do this is both its right and its duty. But it has no duty and no right to use public money for purposes of specialized forms of education. This assertion cannot be justified. I have the conviction even that education for a calling offers us the very best foundation for the general education of a man. We are far too much inclined to assume both in the old world and in the new, that it is possible to educate a man without reference to some special calling. This assumption is erroneous. The only part of it that is true is that one calling requires more preparatory education than another, and that in our higher schools a common preparatory education can be given simultaneously for several learned and technical professions, exactly as the primary schools prepare their pupils for every kind of calling. We are also still far too much inclined to assume that early education for a calling must necessarily be a narrow and one-sided education. Yet it lies in our power to make an education for a calling as many sided as any education can be. Well-nigh every calling, if treated with sufficient thoroughness, naturally involves an enlargement of the field of conception and activity. Science enters to-day into the simplest work and incites all possessed of the necessary gifts to develop their knowledge, their dexterity and their initiative. Indeed, experience has shown that the path of early education for a calling may lead to very much better results than the path of early general education with no definite calling as its goal. We might say, the useful man must be the predecessor of the ideal man. Every one must be able to do some good and thorough work, though

it be of the simplest kind, of one sort or another. Not till then will he be able not only to satisfy his fellow men and be of use to his country, but also to make his own life of value to himself. And in the same measure as our lives gain value for ourselves, do we attain power to reach a higher stage of culture.

If, then, the early education for a calling need by no means be one-sided or devoid of general value, if rather it is for most men, and especially for workers in industries, trades and traffic, well-nigh the only way to reach a higher stage of culture, it cannot be regarded as a private matter; it becomes a matter of the community, a matter for the state. The reason for this does not lie in the advantages procured for any single branch of industry, but in the fact that this is the only road to civic education. Every one who lives in a state and enjoys its protection must contribute through his work, directly or indirectly, to further the object of the state as a community for purposes of justice and civilization. Not till then is he a useful member of the state. And there can be no doubt that it is the duty of all schools supported by public means to educate useful members of the state.

Now, if every individual is to contribute by means of his work to the general welfare of the community, our first business must be to provide him with the best opportunities of developing his skill and capacity for work. But the development of skill in his calling must not be placed only in the service of industry, or limited by industry. Its first object is the development of a man's own joy in work, and thereby of his joy in life. For true joy in work can only grow out of real capacity for it. Thus the skill in work and the consequent joy in work that are cultivated in our trade schools prove themselves educational factors of the very highest importance. Through them we are able to appeal to the hearts of the boys and girls of our working classes. We can educate no one who is not happy in his work; and this is the point where we can intimately combine general and technical education. And there is no other way of doing this. It is possible to make use of skill in work and joy in work in an absolutely egoistic sense, and it is in this egoistic sense, unfortunately, that most technical schools approach their task. They only concern themselves with the individual, whom they endeavor to make as skillful as possible, while they pay no attention to the class as a whole. This is also the weak side of the factory schools, which might otherwise be such admirable educational institutions for training intelligent and skillful workmen and artisans. It cannot be the interest of the manufacturer to give all his apprentices an equally good special and general education. He only concerns himself with the best among them, and not those with the best character, but with the best intelligence and manual skill. Public schools have a very different object. They can

and they must accustom the pupil betimes to use his joy in work and his skill in work in the service of his fellow pupils and of his fellow men, as well as in his own. It is in their power to repress the general tendency of human nature to employ our gifts only for our own advantage. And it is their duty to repress this tendency, for if every one were to use his gifts only for his own advantage, there would be an end to all progress both for the industrial development of the nation and for the state as a whole.

Pupils who have learned in schools of this kind to place their joy in work and their skill in work at the service of their comrades will then be able to learn the lesson that every school ought to teach, of uniting readiness of service, consideration for others, and loyalty, with insight into the aims of the state community. Naturally the limits of this insight will depend on the intelligence and age of the pupils. But even when the teacher is compelled to be content with little, the public schools will always have means to accustom its pupils to the habitual exercise of civic virtues.

Our present schools have not yet fully grasped the meaning of this threefold task: first, education to skill in work and joy in work; secondly, education to readiness of service, consideration for others, and loyalty to schoolfellows and to the school; and, thirdly, education to insight into the aims of the state community. Well-organized schools fulfill the first task, the development of personal capacity. It still remains to enlarge them to schools for social service, and our most important task is to provide such schools for the mass of the population, based on training for a trade.

But the schools for the vast majority of our fellow citizens, the real schools of the people, do not even suffice to fulfill the first task, for they leave off precisely at the point at which education by means of and for a special calling begins. This is the same in the United States as in Germany. Not only the struggle for life, but also the struggle for education, commences for millions of our countrymen at the age of fourteen. The doors of the primary school have closed for them; the doors of a higher school open only to the favored few. The competition for daily bread drives the half-grown boys and girls into the market. They take what they find. True, the question of the children's future has peered out of the background in the mind of their parents and relatives, but there has been no time to answer it. Their eyes are fixed on the necessities of the moment. Posts are valued at the salary they offer, however unfavorable the conditions may be for intellectual or moral development. Some few have the force of character to struggle through untoward circumstances. Their intelligence, their will power, perhaps also their home training, gives them strength to overcome the forces that drag men down. Some few

have the good fortune to get into a factory or shop that has a natural interest in well-trained workmen. Some few find employers who do not regard the young hand as a cheap workman, but as a human being who must be educated. But the innumerable mass of weaker and less fortunate youths, of whom thousands and thousands are also valuable human material, and the innumerable mass of real capacity, that find no warm-hearted employer and no employment demanding intellect, drift like shipwrecked men on the stormy ocean. Some reach the haven, after a loss of many years; the majority lead a life never brightened by the sun of joy in work. No one has ever taught them to seek the true blessing of work. No one has ever taken the trouble to point them to anything farther ahead than the daily task by which they must earn their bread their whole lives long. People tell us industry requires thousands of hands fit to perform the same manipulation with the same unerring skill hour by hour, month by month, year by year. I fully believe that industry does require them. Division of labor is the vital element of industry. But industry is not the aim of human society. The aim of society is the increase of justice and culture. And if industry permanently continues recklessly to disregard this aim, it becomes a danger, not only for the state, but also, in the end, for itself as well. A democratic or even a constitutional state that is ruled exclusively by the lust of gain, by money and the machine slaves that money buys, is doomed to inevitable ruin, as soon as the natural riches of the soil become exhausted and the population becomes too dense. Even the industrial state cannot dispense with strong moral forces. These forces grow, but not in a people of machine slaves and money princes. Moral forces, like skill in work, grow on no other soil than that of joy in work.

Now it cannot be one of the first objects of industry to further the development of a country's moral forces. Its first object is the profitable use of economic forces. The struggle for existence compels it to strain these forces to the uttermost, to press the greatest manual and intellectual capacity into its service, and therefore to train its workmen to the highest degree of dexterity. The capital invested in it clamors with reckless insistence for its interest. No one has better represented the psychology of gain-seeking capital than the great English painter George Frederick Watts in his picture "Mammon," that hangs in the Tate Gallery in London. It is true that capital rings untold blessings to men. But it rarely unveils this second face until it has ceased to be capital hungering for increase or until it has discovered, as it must sooner or later discover, that the third factor, moral capacity, cannot be neglected with impunity. And even after this discovery it long seeks to defend its position by ever stronger accentuation of the need of pure skill, sometimes even until

it is too late for its own undertakings and for the state that has left it free play.

There is no escape from this natural fate of industry but state intervention, not too long postponed, to supplement the one-sided education afforded by industry, trade and traffic. It is, in fact, an entirely new duty that has arisen for the community since the economic revolutions of the last century. It arose not only in the interests of industry, but in the most vital interests of the community itself. It is the imperative duty of the state to create school organizations which deal with the trade training of boys and girls, which enter into the question with the utmost thoroughness, enlarging and deepening it, and thereby awakening in boys and girls many sided capacity for work and a living joy in work.

It will not be the object of this new school to replace the training now given in the practical work of factory and handicraft. It is impossible to replace the school of life, hard and yet so efficient, quite apart from the fact that it would be a financial, economic and social impossibility to remove all youthful workers from workshops, offices and factories, in order to train them in special schools. It is true there are some such schools that are intended to take the place of apprenticeship. We find them in all civilized states. But they are exceptions. As exceptions they may sometimes do good work, but seldom in the sense for which they were founded. For the better such handicraft and industrial schools are organized, the more surely do they outstep their intended limits. Their pupils are no longer satisfied with the position of workmen, and even those among them whose intelligence and skill give them no claims to high posts nevertheless seek to attain them.

The schools that we are considering here are continuations of the primary schools, and they can be organized in various ways. I say, they are a continuation of the compulsory primary school; that is to say, a school compulsory without exception for all who do not go to a higher school. The continuation schools accompany boys and girls during their apprenticeship to a trade, and do not forget those who are forced to spend the springtime of their lives as day laborers, messenger boys and unskilled workmen, far from the paradise of joy in work. They fulfill two purposes: first, youthful workers and apprentices are still at the disposal of trade and industry; second, no citizen of the state is left without an education extending up to his eighteenth year. The completeness of the school organization depends on the means which society can provide for the purpose and on the sacrifices which commerce, trade and industry are ready and able to make. The schools are not merely technical or trade schools. They only make use of the pupil's trade as the basis of their educa-

tional work. The trade training which they give is not the object of the school. However thorough this training in a continuation school, for instance in Munich, is, it is still only the starting point for the wider general training, for the education in practical and theoretical thinking, in consideration for others, in devotion to common interests, in social service for the state community.

We Germans call them simply continuation schools. The conviction of their necessity for the whole life of the state has taken possession of the entire population more and more during the last twenty years. In South Germany there is no city or town, however small, without one such school, at least for all boys. In North Germany the great industrial town of Essen is the only larger town in which such a school is wanting. These schools are compulsory in Bavaria, Württemberg, Sachsen, Baden, and Hessen, for both town and country population, up to the age of sixteen, seventeen or eighteen. They are not everywhere of equal educational value. There are still many town executives that have not yet been able to relinquish the old traditions out of which the schools arose as places for repetition of elementary school work. Not all those who are called upon to give judgment in this matter are thus far penetrated by the deep conviction that they have to deal with an independent school organism, requiring exactly the same budget, the same solicitude, and the same possibilities of expansion, as the primary schools. But everywhere the organizations are progressing, everywhere the representatives of industry and trade are, with few exceptions, beginning to realize that this new form of school can prove a blessing whenever its inner organization adapts itself to the calling of the boy or girl. Everywhere have these schools become an important affair of the towns and receive the willing support of the governments. The state subsidies in Prussia, which amounted to half a million marks in 1885, had risen in 1908 to three millions. The number of schools in Prussia rose from 664, with 58,000 pupils, to 2100 schools and 360,000 pupils. In Württemberg, a law was passed in 1906 requiring every town of over five thousand inhabitants to organize continuation schools for all apprentices in commerce, industry and trade. Bavaria is preparing a similar law to transform the compulsory Sunday school for apprentices, which has existed for the last hundred years, with two hours' instruction, into a continuation school with six hours' instruction, for many country parishes. The Bavarian towns have already established continuation schools everywhere. Many Swiss cantons, especially Zurich, have done the same, and some Austrian crownlands, especially Lower Austria with the city of Vienna, have taken up the idea of developing the continuation school in the sense above indicated. In Vienna this autumn a central building has been opened for a con-

tinuation school with something like sixty workshops, at a cost of eight million crowns. And in 1908, a law was passed in Scotland permitting every town to establish day continuation schools for apprentices of both sexes.

We must now consider from what points of view the organization of these schools must be undertaken. The question will be answered by the actual conditions under which the pupils live. If the continuation school, which can only take the pupils under its discipline for a small part of the week, is to exercise an educational influence on them, it must seek to take hold of the pupils by their egoistic interests in life, and to ennoble these interests in the process. The egoistic interests of the pupils are contained in their daily work. The conditions under which they carry on this work are, in most cases, very unfavorable, especially when the pupils are workers in large industries. The best thing that the school can do here is to raise the pupils' joy in their work. By so doing, it is of use not only to the pupils, but also to the industry. But it can only raise the pupil's joy in work by placing the practical work of the pupil himself in the center of all school work and by teaching the pupil to execute it as thoroughly as possible, to think out the processes of the work, to give reasons for them, and to make himself master of them. Thus it must be the business of the school to group the organization of teaching round this work, which is carried on in special workshops, laboratories and other similar places. All other teaching, commercial, scientific, artistic and moral, is brought into intimate connection with it. This enables the school by degrees more and more to enlarge the purely technical and mechanical training for a given calling and to let it take the form of ever widening intellectual and moral discipline. Most industries and trades, as well as commerce and agriculture, allow of considerable development in these directions. The degree of general culture which the school can offer in these lines is not determined by the trade, but solely by the time which the school has at its disposal and the intellectual powers of the pupils. In spite of all solicitude for the general education of its pupils, the school always remains on the firm ground of the real life by which the pupil is daily and hourly surrounded.

In all large towns and in all purely agricultural parishes it is always possible to gather most youthful workers together according to their calling in special continuation schools, in the center of which this calling stands. This kind of continuation school ought to be made compulsory for all boys and girls up to the age of seventeen or eighteen, or in any case as long as apprenticeship lasts. No reason exists why these schools should not be made compulsory. The state has established the compulsory primary school because it has recognized the necessity of a certain amount of culture for all the citizens of the state;

the same recognition must lead to the compulsory continuation school. There are certain duties that every citizen must take upon himself in the interest of the welfare of the state.

The time to be allotted to the continuation school must depend on the means at its disposal. I can imagine cases in which it might amount to two or three hours daily. In Germany it varies from six to twelve hours a week. As long as it is not reduced to less than six hours weekly, quantity is less important than quality. The evening hours must be excluded. Evening schools can only be established for voluntary pupils. Those who possess sufficient intellectual, moral and physical strength will attend these evening classes in addition to the morning school, and not only for a time, but consistently and regularly. The case is quite different for the majority of young persons, who do not possess this moral and intellectual power but nevertheless stand in need of education. For them it is of the first importance that instruction should take place during the day, within their hours of work, that the teacher may not have to deal with a will still further weakened by fatigue. In Germany, we have entirely given up holding compulsory continuation classes in the evening, when neither teacher nor pupil, especially in the winter months, is equal to his task. Most German states grant a subsidy only to towns that hold their continuation classes before seven o'clock in the evening. This is one of the cases in which sacrifices must be made by employers, by giving their apprentices the requisite time for school during the hours of work. The will to make this sacrifice was often extremely weak on the part of masters and manufacturers, but it received powerful support in the trade-regulation law of the German empire, issued in the year 1897. According to paragraph 120 of these regulations every employer is put under the obligation to dismiss his apprentices from work at the hours appointed by the town for school purposes, under penalty of fine. I must add that the masters and manufacturers, especially of south Germany, are almost unanimously reconciled to this order of things. Indeed some employers and guilds in Munich have offered to send me apprentices for longer instruction than the means at my disposal permitted me to provide.

The joy in work which diffuses itself throughout these schools must not be placed only in the service of intellectual and technical training, but no less in the service of moral training, or, as I call it, of civic education. For this reason the instruction must be organized as early as possible from the standpoint of free community of labor. Only in this free community of labor can the two fundamental civic virtues be developed, namely, consideration for others and loyalty to others' work. The workshops of the continuation schools, as we have them in Munich, afford every facility for carrying out this sys-

tem; practical work leads in itself to the association of many hands for a common purpose, in other words, to communities of labor. But not only the practical instruction in school workshops and school gardens lends itself to this system; it can be applied with equal success to instruction in physics and chemistry, arithmetic, geometry, or gymnastics. Only at the first stage, when it is a question of initiating the pupil into the elements of a subject, is it necessary to limit the instruction to him alone and seek to secure his individual progress. The individual must have attained a certain degree of proficiency before he can join a group for purposes of common action. That applies to the embryonic citizen as much as to the adult. But in all other respects, and in all schools, the whole plan of education must aim at turning as much school work as possible into work that can be done in common, at so arranging the tasks and the whole order of the schools that smaller or larger groups, or all the pupils together, are interested in the success of the work and are responsible for it.

There are two other factors that serve this end in the continuation schools. The first is the association of pupils in groups for free communities of labor, for purposes of self-improvement, of amusement, or physical training, or of practical charity. This is nothing new in England or America. On the contrary, we in Germany are indebted to your schools in making it take root with us. We have nothing in our higher or lower schools to correspond to your leagues, societies, fraternities, gymnastic associations, debating clubs, clubs for musical purposes, etc. Many of these associations are admirably adapted for the continuation schools, and can be placed under the direct supervision of pupils themselves. It is possible to introduce a regular system of self-government on other things as well into the continuation schools, if only one condition is fulfilled. The head of the school and his teachers must themselves be adept in the government of their own school and must know how to enlist the various student associations in the service of school interests.

The second factor is the coöperation of the employers in the trade taught at the school, in the common fulfillment of the school tasks. This second factor has been little realized in Germany, generally not at all. In Munich, however, I have endeavored, wherever it was feasible, to gain the interest of the employers for the school by conceding them certain rights and imposing certain duties. I will tell the manner in which this was done in my second lecture. We must confess that the interest of employers in their apprentices' education has not increased during the last thirty years. We should gladly adopt every means in our power to awaken it afresh. The best plan is to induce the employers to make not only pecuniary, but also personal, sacrifices for the school, even when the school is a public one. We

do not value a thing until it has cost us something. By these means we enlarge the field of education and the community of labor at the same time. We accustom a greater number of persons through the school to take not only a commercial, but also a purely human, interest in the apprentices and to bear their share in the cares of education. The plan has proved itself an excellent one in most cases, though not in all. The general recognition that the Munich continuation schools now enjoy on all sides is in large part to be attributed to the adoption of this plan.

When the continuation school has by these means become a true educational institution, not only for technical, but also for moral, education, then it will also have become a suitable medium for civic education and instruction. All teaching as to the aims and tasks of the state and the common interests of all members of the state has but little value as long as this teaching does not fall on ground already made receptive and fertile by corresponding habits of life. This applies especially to schools like the German continuation schools, with their limited hours of instruction and the quality of their pupils, who have so frequently received no good home training. The most thorough acquaintance with all the institutions of the state and all the duties and rights of the citizens does not in itself, as we know, suffice to make a citizen. A man may even be an admirable teacher of civic science and first-class villain at the same time. We cannot develop character by teaching and precept until the organization of school and instruction has been laid out with the object of accustoming the pupil, as far as possible, to fair and upright dealing. As to the form that this civic teaching should take, I need say far less in your country than in Germany, where civic teaching was, until quite recently, an unheard-of thing, and where people have learned by degrees that civic teaching must become one of the fundamental tasks of all public schools as soon as the pupil is ready to receive it. I came across an excellent American book which showed me with how much common sense and insight this subject is already treated in your schools and which in my writings and speeches I have repeatedly recommended my German countrymen to study. It is the book of Dunn's entitled *Community and Citizen*, which appeared in the autumn of 1909. The book can be admirably applied to continuation schools, and I hope that some of my teachers in Munich will before long translate it into German, with the necessary revision of those parts that refer to exclusively American conditions. In my next lecture I propose to describe the details which show more clearly how we give civic instruction in our Munich continuation schools.[1] The more we are able to base civic instruction on personal experience, that is, on the independent

[1] Vide *School Review*, April, 1911.

investigations and observations of the pupils, the more productive it will become.

The question remains whether the education of the masses which we call by the name of continuation school in Germany, and which we have realized in Munich and in some few country towns, is equally practicable in the United States. One great difficulty is doubtless the fact that in American trades and industries, if I am rightly informed, apprenticeship, as far as it still exists, does not begin before the age of sixteen, and that, therefore, so many of your boys and girls lose two of the years that would be most valuable for systematic education between the primary school and the commencement of apprenticeship. It should be the first care of educators to fill this great gap, either by prolonging the term of elementary education or by letting apprenticeship begin earlier, as it does in Germany. As a rule both boys and girls are ready to enter a calling at the close of their fourteenth year. In Germany, at least, we have no reason to be dissatisfied with our experience in this direction. From an educational point of view it is desirable to make fourteen the age for commencing, for there can be no doubt that working at a trade is, or might be, an essential factor in the formation of character. Nothing strengthens character more than honest trade work, and I agree entirely with Mr. Hamilton, who said in his speech at Harrisburg last February: —

"The contribution that honest toil makes to the child character is just as rich, possibly, as that of any other specific line of school work. Earnest, self-directed effort is the base of all habit and the very corner stone of character. Nothing so crystallizes the crude charcoal of childhood into the diamonds of humanity as systematic self-directed effort." What we have to beware of is that this industrial work, this "honest toil," does not degenerate into drudgery. And this danger will be avoided when a well-organized continuation school keeps pace with the period of apprenticeship, giving it meaning and thoroughness, making it many sided, taking hold of and ennobling all its interests. Even the hardest work ceases to be a torment when we perform it with all our hearts. The introduction of industrial work or manual training into the upper classes of the primary school is without doubt a most useful undertaking in the interests of industrial education. We have long adopted this plan in Munich, although we have not carried it so far as the *écoles professionelles* in Belgium and France. Indeed, from a social and economic standpoint it is much easier than the establishment of well-organized continuation schools. For the elementary classes do not have to struggle against the egoism of employers. But this cannot take the place of well-developed continuation schools. For the aim and end of all this training cannot be merely industrial education. Its aim and end is the education of the man, whom it will

not permit to be identified with and lost in the workman. And the modern state can never hope to become a state of culture and justice till it has succeeded, by the right manner of instruction, in restoring to work, robbed of its divinity by the advance of industry, its educational powers.

George Kerschensteiner, Superintendent of Schools, Munich. Reprinted by permission from *The School Review*, 19: 162.

Past, Present and Future of Industrial Education

Dependence upon the Past. — In our educational practice there has been a universal dependence upon the interpretation of the past, and a general belief that an acquaintance with history, literature, art and Orientalism not only broadens the horizon, but also fits one to meet the changing conditions of modern life and gives an understanding of present-day problems.

Such a policy has been expected to mark indelibly the various callings of life. With it a man was to become a truer citizen, a better employer, a more conscientious workman; with it, the more a man would enjoy his work, whatever his trade or profession, the more inclined he would be to fit in with the existing industrial order, and the more intelligently appreciative of his civic duties and responsibilities. More than twoscore years ago John Stuart Mill in a few words expressed his conception of education as being " the culture which one generation gives to the next in order that the culture already existing may continue."

Altogether it is an interesting philosophy. But is it not incomplete? Has not the present generation obligations to the next quite apart from making it the beneficiary of past experience? Are we not expected to make conscious effort to prepare boys and girls for the future not only by perpetuating what we believe is best in our civilization, but also by anticipating social and industrial conditions bound to exist in the future?

No Present Path leads to Craftsmanship. — In its industrial phases our present generation differs vastly from the last. We see that boys and girls have been led away from the crafts and the home and that they no longer desire to learn a trade of the shop or household; and that individual skill and experience are largely disconnected in the monotonous toil of department store and factory. One of the noblest of callings, that of tilling the soil, has so far deteriorated in common estimation that a particularly awkward boy is derided by the term " farmer." We find our workers in the factory, in the counting room and in the store, regarding their work in terms of hours and wages, with

little thought of craftsmanship, for which hours and wages are but the material symbols.

The Call of Industry. — We have now confronting us a serious problem. We are summoned by the constructive spirit of a busy world to work out a system of education which shall hold a definite and intimate relationship to the industrial activities of life — vast public and private enterprises which are enlisting every grade of human energy and skill, from the foreign alien and unskilled laborer, distinguished only by his badge and number, to the captain of industry.

It is possible in a measure to anticipate some of the needs of the future. It will need, as does the present, a general intelligence, a refinement of manner and thought; in common with the present, it will need the exercise of hand skill, and it will need a new understanding of obligation in labor, to individuals and to the state. A thoughtful leader of workingmen has said that boys and girls need a training which will enable them to earn readily and honestly good wages which they must spend wisely. Now, earning readily implies a technical skill; earning honestly, the industrial exercise of the Golden Rule; spending wisely, a training in manners, morals and taste. The technical skill alone of a craft is fairly easy to master. It is not difficult for a girl to learn to cook, but the art is not wholly mastered if not accompanied by habits of cleanliness, order and economy. To teach a boy to saw, to plan furniture, to adjust machinery, is a simple task compared with that of training in him a social conscience which will make him feel his obligations to his employer and the public.

We have had for a quarter of a century some form of industrial work in our public schools, but its advocates have carefully avoided any vocational aspect it might have. It has found its place in the curriculum, and if at the present time that place be small, it is due in a large measure to the fact that its friends took the path of least resistance and allowed it to become merely a subject in the curriculum instead of providing it with an educational content which would make it worthy of a primary place in our schools.

Handwork as a Handmaid. — Undoubtedly, the older conception of manual training was that of handmaid to the academic work of the school. If the pupil did not comprehend that two and one half and three and three fourths made six and one fourth by the use of arithmetical processes, it was considered a profitable task to prove to him the result in the making of a box. If he did not display honesty, neatness and painstaking effort in writing a composition or taking care of his school desk, many a teacher of manual training asserted that he would acquire these qualities if he made a taboret. If he did not like to soil his hands by carrying coal for his mother, or developed a distaste for chopping kindlings, then sawing boards and driving nails in a

schoolroom would create a love for manual labor and a belief in its dignity. Such manual training has not, and never will have, any effect on industries or the education of industrial workers, for it is founded on a false basis — to accomplish something in a schoolroom by doing something else. No one can rightly assert that the present courses in handwork in our public schools have no educational, industrial or social value. They were originally introduced as a part of a new system of education, but either through a general misunderstanding of their import, or because the times were not ripe, they have become merely, as one has aptly phrased it, " a sort of mustard relish, an appetizer " — to be conducted without reference to any industrial end.

Manual *vs.* Industrial Training. — At present there is much contention over the relative value of manual training and industrial education. Regardless of terminology, the right kind of hand training in the schools must not only develop in the pupil an absorbing interest in his work and a consciousness of its value, but must give him a sense of his individual relation to the whole industrial system. But the teaching of the use of tools in a corner of a school building for one period a week, with no definite industrial purpose in mind, has about as much relation to industrial training as the making of a coat hanger has to constructing a modern battleship.

Industrial training need not have technical skill as its only goal, and yet the training for skill must be recognized as of primary importance in establishing a proper relation of handwork to industrial life. Skill is not the only element that contributes to the value of the result; it also involves the way in which the result is reached. For true efficiency there must be no waste of time or energy; there must be a straight-to-the-goal method of working. Courses in handwork should imply a developing of the process of observation and initiative, of a desire for personal excellence of workmanship; of an attitude of mind, both social and industrial. These qualities of head, hand and heart should be at the base of every call for service, whether it be under the name of manual training or industrial education.

Some Definite Needs. — We are still wandering in the tall grass in a search for some phase of education that will make for industrial efficiency. Before determining the procedure which will bring about the desired end, we may well ask ourselves the question, What is demanded in the industrial world? A prominent manufacturer, speaking with the authority of a national textile organization, recently stated that while the advanced textile schools which could cover more advanced work than our public schools were of great advantage, it still remained true that the preliminary operations of the factory do not require a high order of technical skill; that processes easily acquired when young are almost beyond attainment after a certain age, and

that a grown woman can never learn to spin deftly — that the mental requirements are essentially those of discipline. It would thus appear that while there is need for special textile schools, there is a larger demand for supple fingers and general intelligence — for the training practicable in the public schools. In the machine trades the call is for a number of broadly trained men, a relatively larger proportion of skilled men to unskilled men than is required in any other industry. A machinist and a pattern maker need to have considerable ability to read drawings, to adjust special tools and fixtures, and to interpret mathematical tables and formulæ. Managers in these trades point to the growing demand for special machines which the industry is called upon to build and to the ever increasing use of automatic machinery. They claim, however, that this development will not eliminate the mechanic of general and broad training. The perfection of machinery calls for more intelligence to make and repair the highly perfected machine. It is true that the mechanic of to-day needs a special training; but he also needs as a foundation for this the general mechanical principles taught in the public schools. The shoe industry points to a need of workers with a dexterity of hand, arm and back which will allow the body to adapt its movements to those of the machine, the efficient workman being one who keeps step with his machine in its speed and its varying motions of mechanical parts. This industry, in common with textiles, demands a few specially trained men, but the great cry is for workers with dexterity and character. In the jewelry and art metal industry there is a call for more workers with an art sense, with power to originate and execute products with distinctive features in order that we may have a handicraft, individual and typical. The workers in the forest, in the mine, the multitude of laborers in our public enterprises of subways, streets and railroads speak for themselves, for so far no one has included these vast numbers of workers in any scheme of technical training. They cry out for shorter hours, more pay, a living wage, a higher standard of living. For the most part their education will not go beyond that drawn from the elementary schools. For these, handwork in our public schools can do much; it can develop a *standard of laborship* which must be the foundation of any true improvement in the condition of our so-called unskilled laborers.

Broadly speaking, every one needs to be trained to work, to like it and to do it well. Labor as a factor in education is too important a principle in individual development to be longer ignored. We must not have our boys and girls spend so much time with their books that they will miss an education. In too many cases education is a means to an end — the avoidance of work.

Intelligence, Adaptability and Appreciation. — Careful analysis of the movement for industrial education will show that it springs from

two sources: first, from the skilled industries, those trades where specialized machinery with its differentiation of processes has made so many machine tenders while eliminating the all-round mechanic fitted for duties of supervision; and second, from all industries, both skilled and unskilled, where there is a need for intelligence, adaptability and general appreciation of work. What is demanded is not only technical skill, but a proper attitude of mind. The president of a large railroad remarked in a recent statement that every raise of wages had seemed to be accompanied with a decreased efficiency. The heads of industries which require but few skilled workers when asked what industrial education should do for the mass of their employees, usually enter into a discussion of present-day inefficiency, incompetency and irresponsibility, implying that the public schools are at fault. When pressed for a solution of the problem and for a definite suggestion, they offer some such one as this: Give the pupils an understanding of the industrialism of the city, tell them about the raw material, where it comes from, how it gets to the city, the way it is manufactured, the value of the finished product, the part that labor, the investment and the capitalist play in his process. In short, give industrialism a background that the workers may grow to be interested in and feel themselves a part of the industries that employ them.

With equal force much might be said with reference to the attitude of the employing public toward labor and those who express it. A notion exists, altogether too prevalent, that education leading to labor is for the son of the "other fellow." When one mentions the subject of training for efficiency, the lawyer, the machinist, the minister and the farmer all stand in a circle with their index finger pointing to the man at their right.

Arousing the Social Consciousness. — The time has come for a forward step in education, and the significance of the new movement looking to the establishment of industrial and trades schools may be measured by the following brief survey of the present status of industrial education.

As has been well stated by Professor Elliot of the University of Wisconsin, "the trend of the development of our public school system is determined by the mutual reaction of two forces: first, a static public sentiment which would leave the existing order undisturbed; second, a progressive consciousness of the new needs of contemporary life which constantly endeavors to embody itself in legislation." This arousing of the social consciousness is nowhere better illustrated than in the endeavor to adjust the American school system to the needs of the new industrial order. This endeavor has recorded itself on the legislative annals in a number of plans for the elevation of the standards of industrial efficiency. But, of course, laws of themselves do not spon-

taneously develop high standards of educational efficiency, and such efficiency is not likely to come through the unstimulated activity of public opinion. The National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education has done much to arouse national interest; for localities and varied interests need energizing through progressive state legislation which recognizes that education is a concern of the state and not merely a local responsibility.

Beginning with the Commission created in Massachusetts in 1905 " to consider the needs for technical education in the different grades of industrial skill and responsibility," six other states have inaugurated special investigations upon this problem. Already the report of this Commission has served to stimulate activity for the reconstruction of old-school programs and the projection of schools with entirely new bases and ends.

Typical State Movements. — From the very considerable number of legislative enactments having to do with practical and technical training in schools of elementary and secondary grade, the following may be mentioned as typical, no attempt being made to cover all legislation dealing with the subject. The state of Connecticut has established two public trade schools, money for the support of the same being provided for from public funds. These schools are located at New Britain and Bridgeport. Recently the legislatures of Georgia and Utah passed resolutions recommending appropriations by Congress for industrial education. By doing this they hope to throw all the financial responsibility on the national government. However, in 1906, the first-mentioned state provided for district schools of agriculture and mechanic arts. Maryland, in 1908, provided state aid to establish commercial courses in approved high schools. Massachusetts, in 1909, reorganized its State Board of Education and abolished its Industrial Education Commission. But the new Board was required by law to have in its membership one representative of the former Commission. A Deputy Commissioner of Education has been selected to have special charge of the field of industrial education. Michigan and Mississippi have passed laws providing for the establishment of country schools of agriculture, manual training and domestic economy. In a revision of the education laws of New York State in 1910, provision was made for the establishment of agricultural and homemaking schools, as well as general industrial and trade schools previously provided for and supported partly by the state and partly by the locality. New Jersey has followed closely the experience of Massachusetts, having a special commission which investigated the matter of industrial education and afterwards having the new movement incorporated into the older State Board. Oklahoma, in 1908, created a system of agricultural and industrial education, while Wisconsin provided in 1907 for the establishment



... including a state mining trade ... typifying the various industries ... saw fit to establish. A trade school ... and at present a state commission ... for a wide extension of such schools all ... common with Minnesota has a compre- ... agricultural education with partial state

... Appropriations. — There has been a marked ... the interests of agricultural colleges. ... legislation, according to Professor Elliott in his ... legislation for a bulletin of the New York ... in three principal directions: first, extraordi- ... for the conduct of special investigations and in- ... extension work, forestry, mining, horticulture, soil, ... dry farming; second, the establishment of new ..., the organization of instruction for the training of ... and other industrial subjects. Perhaps noth- ... shows the phenomenon of the action and reaction of ... public opinion than a recent and most significant move- ... that the federal government, through Congress, is ... a large and direct influence upon the general educa- ... of this country, for there has been introduced in both the ... and the 60th Congress a number of bills providing for ... of instruction in agriculture, mechanic arts and domestic ... through federal aid. Unless one has given it some thought, ... the habit of regarding federal legislation as having but a very ... relationship to the expansion and progress of education at large ... United States. It is time that our educators wake up to the ... that we are establishing precedents with reference to educational ... which may have an important bearing upon a national ... of education. Unconsciously, but no less rapidly, we are ... toward a more or less centralized governmental control of ... institutions, for notwithstanding the absence of direct ... participation in this control, the sum of $14,500,000 annually ... from national appropriations for colleges of agriculture, mechanic ..., agricultural experiment stations and for education in the District ... Columbia seems to be a justification for regarding congressional ac- ... as an already active factor in the support and development of ... and special educational activities of no small significance ... country as a whole. At the present time the United States De- ... of Agriculture is a more important educational factor than ... United States Bureau of Education. Where it will end, no one ... predict. The hopeful aspect of all this national and state agita-

tion toward a movement for industrial and agricultural education is that it points out that education is not merely to be that which the local public sentiment of the present generation apparently wants, but that it is to be that which the oncoming generation will undoubtedly need. Evidently, educational inertia in either municipality or state is not to be allowed to hinder national progress in agricultural and industrial development.

A Popular Movement. — The increasing interest in the subject of industrial education has expressed itself in the editorial columns of the public press; in state and local federations of women's clubs, and in national and state gatherings of teachers. New school buildings all over the country are being planned to provide space for shops and domestic science laboratories. The people of all communities, through men's clubs, boards of trade, manufacturers' associations and farmers' granges, have come together to consider the question. It is clearly evident to one who makes a broad survey that the movement for this form of education is tremendously significant, and that it means much more than would be conveyed by the mere titles. It would seem that apart from the direct questions of establishing industrial and trades schools, the term " industrial education " in the minds of the mass of our people simply means the redirecting of our public schools through recognizing that they must be adapted to the needs of our people and that their subject matter must be taught with an economic, as well as a social, purpose in mind.

Evolution, not Revolution. — In analyzing the arguments presented, it is safe to say that the fundamental principles of industrial education are in keeping with the principles of all effective education, which are in brief: that all effective teaching results from, develops out of, or is connected with, the experience of the child; that this experience should have relation to vocations or to the pupil's part in life; that every school should be the natural expression of the life of its community. Moreover, industrial education used in its broadest sense is in no way antagonistic to the general function of all education which is to develop and train the mind.

Present Contentions. — When it is first presented, no subject seems to lead to quite so much contention as industrial education. At the present time all are aroused over it, and some are much disturbed. In gatherings of educators we find that apparently there are lacking clear definitions of the respective fields of " handwork in public schools," " industrial schools," " vocational schools " and " trade schools;" there is a confusion as to its content as to whether it includes agricultural, industrial and commercial training. In local communities there is a fear of making a beginning, the fact being lost sight of that the best in our education has developed out of pedagogical experience and

not out of mere discussion. Discussions in public meetings develop questions as to the relative attitudes of manufacturers, labor leaders and business men. In the council chambers of national leaders in education, such questions arise as to whether industrial education shall be in the hands of our present state boards of education or regents, or in the hands of special boards or commissions; whether it is to be incorporated in special schools or in present existing schools; whether trade schools are to be supported by funds received from regular sources or from special sources. Where schools have been started, many points have to be considered, such as the question of making articles of marketable value; and, if so, whether they shall be sold; whether these schools shall coöperate with employers through some half-time arrangements, etc. In fact, difficulties present themselves in a hundred ways, and much honest difference of opinion exists. These and many other problems are fully discussed in the various chapters which follow.

An Earnest Attempt. — It would seem as though the reason for this honest variance of opinion was easily explained. Education is beginning to have a real meaning; it is beginning to teach subject matter in terms of actual daily life. We are making our first serious attempt to meet, in any complete sense, pressing economic, industrial and social problems. When we attempt to study the significance of industry upon the life of our people, we find that the social and economic problems involved are exceedingly puzzling. In the past it was a comparatively easy task to develop an educational scheme in accord with the ideal of Mill. But to-day we soon find that the moment we attempt to connect our schools with our industries and the vocations of our people, we are confused by the demands made upon the schools. But we must not hesitate.

A New Conception. — In America, public education is a passion, and rightly so. We shall go forward in our attempt to adjust our schools to the needs of our children and our industries. But just how we shall do it is a problem. Many points must be considered. We must know something of the significance of industry upon the life of our people, of the new position women are taking in the economic world, of the trades-union movement, of the educational work now being organized under private initiative in factories and stores, and a score of subjects hitherto considered as being outside of the province of teachers and school administrators.

It is a large matter and one of deep concern. It means much more expense for public education. It involves a new chapter in our educational theory. It means a serious study of other educational systems. It suggests radical changes in schoolhouses and courses. It necessitates the training of a different class of teachers. Meanwhile, before

that can be commenced, or while it is being done, there will be much breaking out of new roads, a consolidation of public sentiment, and new laws written upon the statute books. It is a movement full of promise, and some day in its fulfillment, unhampered by educational precedent or dogma, it will be possible for any one to receive instruction in any subject at any time. Nothing less can be acceptable in an American democracy.

Reprinted from Chapter I, *The Worker and the State*, by Arthur D. Dean. Courtesy of the Century Company.

Summary on Industrial and Vocational Education

Of the various present-day extensions of educational activity, none are more important from a social point of view than those which have to do with industrial and vocational training. This implies, of course, that it is important also to the individual from whatever point of view he may be regarded — whether as a producer in the narrow economic sense, or intellectually and morally. In the preceding paper by Dr. Kerschensteiner, the broad social need and many of the underlying principles of industrial training are stated so forcefully and so clearly that it is not necessary to restate them in this summary. Through the annotated bibliography and topics for study which follow, the student will find many suggestions as to different aspects of the problem both in principle and practice which are pressing upon the modern world for solution.

Among the significant things which are to-day finding more and more frequent expression, is, first of all, the conviction that in all phases of education the pupil stands in need of more adequate motivation in his work. The tasks imposed by the school are too largely thrust upon him from without. They make too little appeal to the strong, innate impulses present in every healthy-minded boy and girl *to do* something, *to be* something. Hence, as President Eliot well says, "It is for the benefit of the individual to bring into play at the earliest possible moment the motive of the life career, because that is a strong motive and a lasting one."[1] There is a clear recognition, also, on the part of an increasing number of educators that the training of a boy or girl need not be the less cultural or broadening because it is dominated by a vocational purpose.

[1] *The Conflict between Collectivism and Individualism in a Democracy*, p. 45.

To be sure, the " motive of a life career " as such cannot be clearly present in the minds of children in their earlier school years, but it must be nurtured and developed, and, as they approach the beginnings of the adolescent period, it should take fairly definite shape. At the close of the grammar school period industrial and vocational training should begin to receive definite attention. It is at this point that the weakness, or deficiency, of traditional types of education is most of all manifest. It is here that the mistaken ideals of all elementary education begin to bear their fruit. In the neglected years between fourteen and eighteen occurs the appalling waste that those with a larger view of the social responsibilities of education are seeking to-day to prevent by vocational and continuation schools. As one has well said: " It seems strange that all oversight of children ceases when they go to work, strange that the state has not considered it a duty to look after their education at the critical period of their existence. Then, if ever, they need moral guidance and ideals kept steadily before them. That is the time they feel their deficiencies and need instruction and direction. Then they need to be taught to apply what they know to a practical situation. Then their attitude is determined, and they will become mere drudges, shirks and outcasts, or will acquire that joy in work which will transform their task into an interesting vocation and themselves into interested and ambitious craftsmen." [1]

It is no longer true, as it was in a measure in the earlier decades of our national life, that the common school education is all that society needs bestow upon its children to enable them to become efficient and self-supporting citizens. The various industries, and all callings as well, are to-day so highly specialized and involve such a degree of technical skill and preparation that the majority of boys and girls with merely the elementary training of the public schools cannot enter profitable vocations as they could fifty or even twenty-five years ago. Instead, those who leave school and go to work at the end of the compulsory school period fall inevitably into the unskilled class of workers, and there they are almost bound to remain. Modern society has developed a long list of purely juvenile occupations of which those of the messenger and the elevator boy are typical. They offer attractive

[1] Dyer, *School Review*, May, 1911.

possibilities to the youngster. The small wage, to his limited vision, is a bonanza. But the work is in no sense a preparation for anything better. When the boy becomes a young man and realizes the necessity of engaging in more profitable work, he finds himself less capable, if anything, of advancing into it. His earlier work was not a preparation for anything better. It has, furthermore, stultified his powers at a time when they should have been under development.

A proper appreciation of vocational education presupposes as a background some knowledge of social significance of vocations. That there is too often a lack of clear thinking along this line is indicated by the fact that when education for vocation is advocated, some one nearly always raises the cry that the idea is low, commercial and utilitarian. This cry is especially likely to come from exponents of that type of education which has prevailed in the past. It is not strange, after all, that this should be the case, for it has been the mission of the schoolmaster for many generations to uphold the desirability of those types of training and culture which were not directly connected with breadwinning. It was only thus that he could convince the boy that he should go to school at all. The home, the shop and the farm, where the practical side of life was uppermost, were always pulling him away from the school and the master. They were able to furnish all the practical training the youth needed for the relatively simple industrial life about him. Before the era of compulsory elementary education it was easy for people to look at the training furnished so well by practical life as almost, if not quite, sufficient for one at least who did not intend to enter one of the professions. For the ordinary man or woman it was easy to think that a very small amount of formal schooling was sufficient, and that in some cases it might even be neglected altogether. There were always a large number of men to whom one could point who had succeeded without any schooling. And yet the school *did* stand for values that were real, even though success in life seemed often to be achieved without its help. It is not strange that the schoolmaster should, under these conditions, come to look with distrust upon the practical interests of life, and that he should undervalue the part they played in the development of the youth. It is not strange that he should set *his* work sharply over against that of home, farm and shop as having to do with culture rather than utility,

and that he should even come to regard real education as identical with the culture training of the school. All other training was *merely* utilitarian. He felt keenly, and he tried to make it clear to society also, that the school stood for something distinctly different from, and even higher than, utility.

It is needless to say that lack of sympathy between the school and vocational utility, unfortunate as it was, was incidental to a peculiar combination of circumstances. We are convinced to-day that there is no real disparity between them, that both are necessary in a complete education and in an age such as ours, when the utility side is no longer adequately provided for by outside forces; the school must dismiss its old prejudice and provide an education that is both cultured and utilitarian.

A little reflection upon the social meaning of vocations will furnish a sound basis in principle for the social need of the practical in education.

(1) Vocations are natural products of social progress. They represent necessary specializations or divisions of labor, inevitable as society increases in complexity.

(2) They are absolutely essential to the maintenance of civilized society. The functions of civilization are so complex and require so much skill that they can be carried on only by persons especially trained and devoted to them.

(3) Vocations have a deep moral and intellectual significance for the individual and hence for society as well. (*a*) Consider the moral value for the individual of his having something definite to do, something engrossing to his attention, something which serves to utilize a large part of his mental and physical energy. This moral value is especially prominent in *skilled* work. A skilled worker gains a certain sense of personal worthfulness which is a most important element in the building of a substantial moral character as well as in the development of a socially efficient individual. (*b*) The moral value of a vocation is particularly in evidence in the fact that the reformation of delinquents and criminals is accomplished in large part through training them in some line of productive skilled work. The criminal is almost always one who has not learned to contribute in any valuable way to the satisfaction of genuine human needs. The best refor-

matories offer definite opportunities for vocational training. (*c*) The moral importance of the vocation may be appreciated by studying the social and moral degeneration of the so-called "higher classes," those who have never felt the stress of any economic necessity. One of the greatest problems of vast wealth arises out of its tendency to throw out on society large numbers of rich nonproducers, veritable social parasites. Such persons easily become moral degenerates. (*d*) The moral as well as the economic betterment of the negro in this country is to-day recognized as depending largely upon his being trained in a definite vocation. Booker T. Washington says: "From both a moral and a religious point of view, what measure of education the negro has received has been repaid, and there has been no step backward in any state. Not a single graduate of the Hampton Institute or the Tuskegee Institute can be found to-day in any jail or state penitentiary. . . . The records of the South show that 90 per cent of the colored people in prison are without knowledge of the trades, and 61 per cent are illiterate."[1]

With reference to the intellectual side, it would not be an exaggeration to say that a large part of the development of human knowledge has occurred directly or indirectly in connection with the exigencies of vocational activity. The fundamental human interest in economic problems is suggestively illustrated by the fact that boys who fail to be interested in ordinary school work will often succeed admirably when put into vocational schools. In some states, however, the only opportunity a boy or girl has to learn a useful trade at public expense is through the gate of physical or intellectual defect or of moral delinquency. An element so valuable for the training of the abnormal or defective child can hardly be left out of account in the training of the normal child. The possibility is suggested, and it is worth considering, that a large part of our present school work begins at the wrong end. However important the intellectual training is, does it not at every stage of the child's development need the ballast of active interests, interests which will become more and more vocational as the period of adolescence is approached.[2]

[1] *Working with the Hands*, p. 235.

[2] It is possible that the increased motivation which will be secured to school work by relating it more definitely to the needs of everyday life will silence such criticisms of the

In fine, a life calling is not to be described as *merely* commercial. To be sure, it is bound up with the necessity of gaining a livelihood for one's self and one's family. But even this is of the highest social importance. No greater calamity could come to society or to the individual than the elimination of vocational activities and vocational incentives. They are, as we have pointed out, normal avenues of human expression and necessities for a well-balanced human nature.

If the relative importance of liberal education and vocational training were to be determined merely on the ground of historical priority, the judgment would easily be in favor of the latter. Vocational education, as Snedden says, is really "older than liberal education for the simple reason that men have always had to have occupations involving more or less skill, by which they could earn a livelihood." [1] In savage states of culture this came largely through imitation and incidental suggestion and through learning by trial and error to hunt, prepare food, dress skins and crudely to till the soil. With the advent of more complex arts the system of apprenticeship, in many ways the most perfect system of vocational training, naturally developed. In other words, in all present discussions of the social need of such training it is worth bearing in mind that "vocational education, more or less unorganized and resting largely on native instincts and capacity, has always existed, that it tends to be organized under school conditions only where special demands or necessities exist; and that from the standpoint of social necessity, vocational education given by some agency is indispensable." [2]

PROBLEMS FOR DETAILED STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. What current social conditions are leading to a general demand for industrial training? Wood-Simons, Snedden, Dean, Carlton, Addams.

work of public education as the following: The intelligence produced is inefficient and not worth the money spent (ex-President Eliot). The product is contemptible (Admiral Evans). Useless for business (Fisk). It has no profitable relation to applied science (Edison). Eminently successful in turning out uniformly stupid types, void of originality (Benson and Frederic Harrison). The biggest failure of modern times (Hirsch). *Vide* Johnston, "The Social Significance of Various Movements for Industrial Education," *Educational Review*. February, 1909.

[1] *Problem of Vocational Education*, p. 9.

[2] Snedden, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

2. Investigate as fully as possible the old apprenticeship system, its origin, social advantages and disadvantages, adaptation to the social needs of its period. Wright.

3. Reasons for the present decay and disappearance of the apprenticeship system. Wright, Wood-Simons.

4. What is meant by "the industrial revolution"? Relation to educational problems?

5. Relation of the elimination of pupils from school to the question of industrial education. Jones, Thorndike.

6. Study and state carefully the social waste and menace through the so-called juvenile occupations. Snedden, Dean, Bloomfield, Hanus, Massachusetts Commission, etc.

7. The "unemployables," their origin and social menace. Bloomfield, Dean.

8. At what period should the child's industrial or vocational training begin? Differentiation of earlier and later stages. Dean, Snedden, *et al.*

9. Need of more attention to practical applications in the case of the so-called liberal studies. Eliot, Dean, Snedden, etc.

10. Relation of vocational to cultural education. Snedden, Dean, Kerschensteiner.

11. Place a manual training in the present-day curriculum: a "liberal" or an industrial study. Snedden, etc.

12. Relation of industrial and vocational education to the underlying principle of democracy, "equal rights to all, unequal privileges to none."

13. Effect upon Germany of systematic industrial education since 1870.

14. Types of continuation schools in Munich. Hanus, Kerschensteiner, Sadler.

15. Attitude of organized labor toward industrial education. Dean, Wood-Simons, Jones.

16. Describe systems of industrial and vocational training recently inaugurated in various American cities, *e.g.*, in Cincinnati, Chicago, etc.

17. Compare our systems with the better developed ones of England, Germany and other European countries. Hanus, Kerschensteiner, Jones, Sadler.

18. Need of coöperation of shop and school. Describe various methods of securing it. Dean, Dyer, Kerschensteiner, Snedden, Person, Orr.

19. Is it just for the employer to criticize the public schools on the ground that the graduates are not immediately able to meet skillfully the technical requirements of his business?

20. There is a widespread complaint on the part of employers that there is to-day a great dearth of skilled labor. Does any responsibility rest upon employers to help their young employees become skilled workmen? Bloomfield, Dean, etc.

21. Should trade schools be under public or private control? Arguments for and against. Dean, Snedden, etc.

22. Compare national and state control with local control. Snedden.

23. Other problems in the administration of industrial and vocational training. Dutton and Snedden, Snedden, Dean.

24. Distinction between industrial and vocational training?

25. Estimate the various moral values of industrial training. Gillette, Dean, Washington.

26. What light upon the value of industrial education may be obtained from modern types of education of delinquents, dependents, negroes, etc.? Gillette, Washington.

27. Problems of industrial training peculiar to women? Snedden, Dean, etc.

28. What peculiar difficulties arise in connection with popular agricultural education? Snedden, Dean, etc.

29. Work and limitation of evening schools; of the Y. M. C. A.; and of correspondence schools in promoting industrial education. Jones, etc.

30. Influence of the recently developed system of "University Extension" upon the industrial uplift of the people. Study especially the Wisconsin system.

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CHAPTER X

VOCATIONAL DIRECTION, ONE OF THE LARGER SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF EDUCATION

Vocational Direction a Social Necessity

A BOY just graduated from high school came to his principal and said: "I have finished the work of the school. What am I to do now?" The principal said with a grandiloquent flourish: "We have led you out upon the broad sea of opportunity, and you can now steer your ship in any direction you choose. You are prepared to do anything." The youth replied with a touch of bitterness, "It seems to me you have led me out into a bank of fog." We are tardily beginning to see that the youth was right. The paper by Mr. Weaver, here reprinted, describes concretely and forcefully what is being done by the schools in metropolitan centers to help boys and girls make satisfactory vocational adjustments. It is especially interesting because it shows first what the teaching force itself on its own initiative can accomplish. It is worth studying, also, because it brings to light some of the difficulties of vocational adjustment that inhere in the training and habits of work of the young people themselves.

In Boston, the work originated outside of the schools, but is being developed in close coöperation with the teachers and the school system as a whole. A surprisingly large amount and wide range of helpful material has already been printed, dealing with the problems of vocational adjustment. Bloomfield's admirable monograph, *The Vocational Guidance of Youth*, should be read by every student of the larger meaning of education. It describes the social need, and the attempts to meet the need not only in Boston, but also in other large cities in this country and Europe. The idea is rapidly spreading, and to-day many American cities are considering the establishment of Vocation Bureaus. The book by Parsons, *Choosing a Vocation*,

describes the practical work and methods and results attained by the trained vocational counselor.

As Bloomfield says: "We are indeed living in the midst of a restless period, impatient with crudeness, and too preoccupied to pause over the stumblings and gropings of its bewildered youth. Into the arena of tense effort, the schools of our country send out their annual thousands. We somehow trust that the tide of opportunity may carry them to some vocational destination. . . . What becomes of that young multitude sent out to cope with the new conditions of self-support? Whose business is it to follow up the results of this transition from school to work? Whose business to audit our social accounts, and discover how far our costly enterprises in education, the pain, the thought, the skill and the sacrifice we put forth with the growing generation, are well or ill invested in the field of occupation? There are vital questions, and perhaps the most vital is how far the work our children turn to is the result of choice, accident or necessity." All types of schools and all classes of people are, as he further says, concerned in this question. Too much of the strength of youth is wasted when "a helpful suggestion at the critical moment" might have directed aright and made possible happy, successful lives where now there is maladjustment and dreary waste.

The possibility of wisely directing young men and women in the choice of vocation is only beginning to be realized, but already the idea has passed from the stage of theory into that of successful practice. The impulse for vocational guidance in some places arose outside the school, in others within; but, whatever its origin, and however it is being carried on, it is one of the significant phases of the modern broader conception of the scope and function of public education. It is an essential element in the movement to bring the school closer to society, to make it a more effective social instrument. No matter what sort of training the school may give, whether "liberal" or more narrowly practical, there is need of counsel and guidance that the youth may find his proper place in the adult world. Nor is the need to be met at the last moment when he is about to go forth. It is a part of the business of the agents of education to study him more or less continuously throughout his course with reference to his adaptability to a particular line of work. Whether the boy is to be always conscious that

he actually *is* daily laying the foundation for some sort of a vocation, the school must not lose sight of that fact, and the boy, as he grows older, must be made more and more to feel that the wise intelligent choice of a vocation is the culmination of his school training, a culmination to be attained only by intelligent coöperation with sympathetic advisers who have a broader view of the situation than he can possibly possess. In many respects the need of vocational guidance is distinctly a modern one, and one that is peculiarly associated with democratic institutions. The complexity and specialization of all types of work in modern society render it increasingly difficult for the youth to know how or where to take hold that he may finally be able to do a man's part. This was not the case even a few decades ago. Under simpler conditions, it was comparatively easy for a boy to find something fitted to his taste and ability. Furthermore, this is a problem of democracy, because under such a form of government there is less fixity in occupations in a family or small group. Boys tend less and less to follow their fathers' occupations. Things are shifting and fluent. In a society where a boy's career was determined for him by that of his father, he had at least something definite to which he might look forward. He might not be well suited for it, but he, at least, did not waste time in trying, perhaps futilely, to find himself somewhere else. Such a system has, of course, obvious disadvantages. For one thing, it is so inflexible. It takes no account of individual adaptabilities. But even this could scarcely be worse than that the boy should cut loose from the parental occupation and try unaided to find a place for himself in the labyrinth of modern society. The possibilities of misfits and failures are as great, if not far greater, than where the boy followed in the steps of his father. The question to-day, however, is not as to the desirability of going back to the old condition of fixity. The whole idea is repugnant to the sense of individual freedom and personal initiative, which, whether right or wrong, has been fostered in modern society, and if society fosters such attitudes, it must apparently face the problem of how to turn them to profitable account.

It is possible that the failure thus far to make any adequate provision for the vocational guidance of youth is one of the subtle effects of the old and vicious doctrine of *laissez faire* and unlimited individual freedom, — the theory that people must be let alone in all their compli-

cated interrelations, — that in this way the best possible social and industrial adjustments will work out automatically. Whatever might have been true of a simpler social order, we know that in the world of to-day this let-alone policy can breed only the gravest abuses. The self-interest of the employer will not lead him to properly safeguard the employee nor to give him a living wage. The self-interest of the merchant will not insure to the buyer of his goods full measure nor standard quality. The theory and the practice of non-interference in the choice of a vocation is apparently a part of this outworn theory of non-interference in general social matters. To give definite and systematic counsel to the boy or to the girl would infringe on natural freedom. In some mysterious way the native bent and capacity of the youth would be an unerring guide. The very word "calling" is itself an expression of the idea that each one is predestined in some way to a particular life work. Such an idea is not altogether without its value or suggestiveness. The difficulty, however, of the youth's finding the thing he is best fitted for is becoming increasingly apparent. The ease with which boys are at the close of compulsory school drawn into the well-named blind alley occupations is of itself sufficient evidence of how vital is the need of vocational guidance. It is a need common to all civilized peoples. The recent report of the English Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress throws into clear light conditions more and more prevalent in both Europe and America. We cannot do better than quote Bloomfield's comment upon this report. It is true, as he says, that "such employments as that of errand boy are not necessarily demoralizing. Many a boy has started in this humble way on a career of success. But callings like this are apt to waste the years during which a boy should make a beginning at a skilled or developing occupation. The probabilities are that younger, but trained, competitors eventually oust the untrained workers, and at a time when these untrained workers are charged with adult responsibilities.

"The necessity of guidance intended to avert the entrance of thousands of boys and girls into a vocational *cul-de-sac* is appreciated by this Committee. Its conviction is clearly expressed that the most dangerous point in the lives of children in an elementary school is the moment at which they leave it. The investigations have shown how

difficult is the taking of the right step at this stage, and the lamentable consequences of taking the wrong one. This difficulty is due in large measure to the inability of parents to get the necessary information as to the conditions of employment, the wages and the future prospects of various occupations, as well as a knowledge of the educational opportunities and requirements for efficiency in the occupations. The Committee has found that there are parents who are under no compulsion to send their children to work, and that they would be both willing and able to accept lower wages at first for the sake of subsequent advantages in the vocations; but their ignorance of these matters makes it impossible for them to select wisely for their children.

"'Unless children are thus cared for at this turning point in their lives,' says the Consultative Committee, 'the store of knowledge and discipline acquired at school will be quickly dissipated, and they will soon become unfit either for employment or for further education.'

"The intervening years, then, between leaving school, which the great majority do at fourteen years of age, and the entrance into an occupation that promises any development at all are largely wasted. Society gains little by the labor of thousands of its children at the most important period of their growth. It is not that much of this work is not of social value, but with our present neglect we offer no corrective for the injury that follows. The reports of the two commissions on Industrial Education in Massachusetts; investigations into street trades in Boston, Chicago and elsewhere; and all the observations of the child-saving societies in this country confirm the Royal Commission's alarm over juvenile labor as now performed.

"The employer is very often as much a victim of these conditions as the boy himself. The allurement of high wages for uninstructive work is soon understood by many a boy, and his restlessness in these occupations, where often, without any provocation, he throws up his place, is a constant source of vexation and destroys any plan which the employer might have in view for the promotion of his boys. This skipping from job to job can only mean for most boys demoralization. They become vocational hobos. They are given work only because nobody else is in sight, and they stay at work as little as they may. Juvenile wages are their portion, no matter what services they render, nor for how long a period. A tragic situation is here disclosed. Not only do we find that modern working conditions 'put a man on the shelf' in the prime of his years, because the speed and skill of younger brains and hands are required, but we find, too, a shelving of youth itself before life has given the young workers even an opening. They seem doomed to be juvenile adults bound by an iron law of juvenile

wages. The 'dead end,' or 'blind alley,' occupations, therefore, with their bait of high initial wages and their destructiveness to any serious life-work motive are breeding costly social evils. Unanimous testimony on this point by the special investigators of the Royal Commission has led to the opinion that this perhaps is the most serious of all the problems encountered in its study of unemployment. A term of sinister import has been coined to describe the products of this vocational anarchy — the Unemployables.

"The unemployables are people whom no ordinary employer would willingly employ, not necessarily because of their physical or mental capacity, but because their economic backbone has been broken. The wasted years have landed their innocent victims on economic quicksands. Attractive wages with no training, the illegitimate use of youthful energy, long hours of monotonous and uneducative work, have produced at his majority a young man often precocious in evil and stunted in his vocational possibilities."

Two natural consequences of the doctrine of "hands off" are to be noted. In the first place, while a few men and women of pronounced talent and initiative do find their proper work, or, if it does not already exist, they carve it out for themselves, the vast bulk drift into this or that work purely by chance. They have no clear idea of their own capacities nor of the different types of opportunities open to them in the world. Often it is admiration of the work of a conspicuously successful man or woman which determines the choice. More often it is the opportunity for work that lies closest at hand and which seems most desirable merely because the youth has no clear idea of anything else. The majority of men and women admit that the choice of their life work was more or less fortuitous. There was no careful study of social needs, no careful attempt to determine the relation of one's individual resources to these needs. The individual as well as the social waste involved in such a procedure is of course incalculable.

In the second place, from this doctrine of "hands off," it has been almost inevitable that the youth postpones his choice of a vocation unduly. How common it is for a young man of twenty or even older to say that he does not know yet what he will do! Naturally it is becoming harder and harder for a youth to find himself, — and so there are wasted years of indecision, of haphazard application of energy whether he be out of school or in. His elders may even *encourage* him

in his indecision, assuring him that there is no hurry, and that he will find out in good time what he is best able to do. There are serious objections to this point of view. In the first place, it deprives the boy, especially while in school, of any sufficient motive for his study. Lack of adequate motivation is the crying defect of the traditional type of adolescent education which still largely prevails. In fact, the courses of study are planned for "general training" as if to keep from the boy as long as possible the thought that he will ever have to do any specific work.

There is beginning, however, to be a significant change along this line in the attitude of thoughtful people. It is seen to be quite consistent with a broad and liberal training that there should be an earlier appreciation of a life purpose. In fact, such a purpose vitalizes the school work of the adolescent. It awakens his energies and gives him enthusiasm, where before he worked with indifference and even apathy.

The life motive not only may appear in early adolescence; the conditions should even be such as to encourage its early appearance. To be sure, there is danger of putting this problem prematurely to boys and girls, but the possibility of going to an extreme in this direction is not a good excuse for ignoring it altogether. The wise course is, step by step, according to the age of the child, to call his attention to the importance of his life work, and by wise counsel set him to thinking along such lines. As he grows older, the problem will become more and more definite. When he finally faces the crisis of an actual choice, he will be able to make it intelligently instead of blindly.

That there can be an early and yet sensible cultivation of life motives culminating in intelligent choice of a vocation is being proved abundantly by the practical work that has already been done in many places. Its ultimate success depends upon the development in the first place of what Bloomfield calls "a new profession, that of the vocational counselor."

In the second place, it demands a careful and often continued study of the individual, not merely that he may come to a consciousness of his own powers, or that he may be on the guard against habits of body and mind that will tend to hinder him in, if not actually to disqualify him for, the vocation he may choose to follow, but also that the vo-

cation counselor may have accurate knowledge of the person whom he advises.

In the third place, the success of vocational guidance demands an intimate and continued study of the various occupations with reference to the need of new workers, the mental and physical qualities requisite for success, etc.

Whether carried on directly under the supervision of the school or by outside agencies in coöperation with the school, it is essentially an educational enterprise of the highest social significance. "Early in the spring of 1909, the School Committee of Boston passed a resolution inviting the Vocation Bureau to submit a plan for vocational guidance to assist the public school graduates. The Bureau presented the following suggestions: —

"*First*, the Bureau will employ a vocational director to give practically his entire time to the organization of vocational counsel to the graduates of the Boston Public Schools during the ensuing year.

"*Second*, the work of this vocational director shall be carried on in coöperation with the Boston School Committee or the Superintendent of Schools as the Committee shall see fit.

"*Third*, it is the plan of the Bureau to have this vocational director organize a conference of masters and teachers of the Boston high schools through the Committee or the Superintendent, so that members of the graduating classes will be met for vocational advice either by this vocational director or by the coöperating schoolmasters and teachers, all working along a general plan, to be adopted by this conference.

"*Fourth*, the vocational director should, in coöperation with the Superintendent of Schools or any person whom he may appoint, arrange vocational lectures for the members of the graduating classes.

"*Fifth*, the Bureau believes that schoolmasters and teachers should be definitely trained to give vocational counsel, and therefore, that it is advisable for this vocational director, in coöperation with the Superintendent of Schools, to establish a series of conferences to which certain selected teachers and masters should be invited on condition that they will agree in turn definitely to do vocational counseling with their own pupils.

"*Sixth*, the vocational director will keep a careful record of the work accomplished for the pupils during the year, the number of pupils counseled with, the attitude of the pupils with reference

to a choice of vocations, the advice given, and, as far as possible, the results following. These records should form the basis for a report to the Boston School Committee at the end of the year. The Bureau cherishes the hope that it can so demonstrate the practicability and value of this work that the Boston School Committee will eventually establish in its regular organization a supervisor of vocational advice."[1]

Acting under the direction of the Boston School Committee, the Superintendent of Schools appointed a committee of six to work with the Vocation Bureau director in that city. After nearly a year's work, this committee rendered the following report, which is quoted because it indicates some of the practical aspects of the work as well as its dominant ideals.

"The Committee on Vocational Direction respectfully presents the following as a report for the school year just closed. The past year has been a year of beginnings, the field of operation being large and the problems complicated. A brief survey of the work shows the following results: —

"A general interest in vocational direction has been aroused among the teachers of Boston, not only in the elementary but in the high schools.

"A vocational counselor, or a committee of such counselors, has been appointed in every high school and in all but one of the elementary schools.

"A vocational card record of every elementary school graduate for this year has been made, to be forwarded to the high school in the fall.

"Stimulating vocational lectures have been given to thirty of the graduating classes of the elementary schools of Boston, including all the schools in the more congested parts of the city.

"Much has been done by way of experiment by the members of this committee in the various departments of getting employment, counseling and following up pupils after leaving school.

"The interest and loyal coöperation of many of the leading philanthropic societies of Boston have been secured, as well as of many prominent in the business and professional life of the city and the state.

"A good beginning has already been made in reviewing books suitable for vocational libraries in the schools.

[1] Bloomfield, *Vocational Guidance of Youth*, pp. 32–34.

"It was early decided that we should confine our efforts for the first year mainly to pupils of the highest elementary grade as the best point of contact. The problem of vocational aid and counsel in the high schools has not as yet been directly dealt with, yet much that is valuable has been accomplished in all our high schools on the initiative of the head masters and selected teachers. It is safe to say that the quality and amount of vocational aid and direction has far exceeded any hitherto given in those schools. The committee, through open and private conferences, and correspondence with the head masters, have kept in close touch with the situation in high schools, but they feel that for the present year it is best for the various types of high schools each to work out its own plan of vocational direction. The facts regarding their experience can properly be made the basis of a later report. A committee of three, appointed by the Head Master's Association, stands ready to advise with this committee on all matters relating to high school vocational interests. Once during the year the principals of the specialized schools met in conference the vocational counselors of the city and have presented the aims and curricula of these schools in such a way as to greatly enlighten those responsible for advising pupils entering high schools.

"The committee have held regular weekly meetings through the school year since September. At these meetings every phase of vocational aid has been discussed, together with its adaptability to our present educational system. Our aim has been to test the various conclusions before recommending them for adoption. This has taken time. Our most serious problem so far has been to adapt our plans to conditions as we find them, without increasing the teachers' work and without greatly increased expense. We have assumed that the movement was not a temporary 'fad,' but that it had a permanent value, and was therefore worthy the serious attention of educators.

"Three aims have stood out above all others: first, to secure thoughtful consideration, on the part of parents, pupils and teachers, of the importance of a life-career motive; second, to assist in every way possible in placing pupils in some remunerative work on leaving school; and third, *to keep in touch with and help them thereafter*, suggesting means of improvement and watching the advancement of those who need such aid. The first aim has been in some measure achieved throughout the city. The other two have thus far been worked out only by the individual members of the committee. As a result we are very firmly of the opinion that until some central bureau of information for pupils regarding trades and mercantile opportunities is established, and some effective system of sympathetically fol-

lowing up pupils, for a longer or a shorter period after leaving school, is organized in our schools as centers, the effort to advise and direct merely will largely fail. Both will require added executive labor which will fall upon the teachers at first. We believe they will accept the responsibility. If, as Dr. Eliot says, teachers find those schools more interesting where the life-career motive is present, then the sooner that motive is discovered in the majority of pupils the more easily will the daily work be done and the product correspondingly improved.

"In order to enlist the interest and coöperation of the teachers of Boston, three mass meetings, one in October and two in the early spring, were held. A fourth meeting with the head masters of high schools was also held with the same object. As a most gratifying result the general attitude is most sympathetic and the enthusiasm marked. The vocation counselors in high and elementary schools form a working organization of over a hundred teachers, representing all the schools. A responsible official, or committee, in each school stands ready to advise pupils and parents at times when they most need advice and are asking for it. They suggest whatever helps may be available in further educational preparation. They are ready to fit themselves professionally to do this work more intelligently and discriminatingly, not only by meeting together for mutual counsel and exchange of experience, but by study and expert preparation if need be.

"As a beginning of our work with pupils we have followed out two lines: the lecture and the card record. The addresses have been mainly stimulating and inspirational. It seems to the committee, however, that specific information coming from those intimately connected with certain lines of labor should have a place also in this lecture phase of our work. In a large number of high and elementary schools addresses of this character have been given by experts during the year. The committee claim no credit for these, though carried out under the inspiration of the movement the committee represent. The custom of having such addresses given before Junior Alumni Associations, Parents' Associations and evening school gatherings has become widespread, the various masters taking the initiative in such cases. The speakers are able to quote facts with an authority that is convincing to the pupil *and leads him to take a more serious view of his future plans*, especially if the address is followed by similar talks from the class teacher, emphasizing the points of the speaker. This is a valuable feature and should be extended to include more of the elementary grades, especially in the more densely settled portions of the city, from which most of our unskilled workers come.

"A vocational record card, calling for elementary school data on one side and for high school data on the other, has been furnished all the elementary schools for registration of this year's graduates. The same card will be furnished to high schools this fall. These cards are to be sent forward by the elementary school counselors to high schools in September, to be revised twice during the high school course. The value of the card record is not so much in the registering of certain data as in the results of the process of getting these. The effect upon the mental attitude of pupil, teacher and parent is excellent, and makes an admirable beginning in the plan of vocational direction.

"The committee are now in a position where they must meet a demand of both pupils and teachers for vocational enlightenment. Pupils should have detailed information in the form of inexpensive handbooks, regarding the various callings and how to get into them, wages, permanence of employment, chance of promotion, etc. Teachers must have a broader outlook upon industrial opportunities for boys and girls. Even those teachers who know their pupils well generally have little acquaintance with industrial conditions. The majority can advise fairly well how to prepare for a profession, while few can tell a boy how to get into a trade, or what the opportunities therein are. In this respect our teachers will need to be more broadly informed regarding social, industrial and economic problems. We have to face a more serious problem in a crowded American city than in a country where children are supposed to follow the father's trade.

"In meeting the two most pressing needs, viz. the vocational enlightenment of teachers, parents and pupils, and the training of vocational counselors, we shall continue to look for aid to the Vocational Bureau. The Bureau has been of much assistance during the past year, in fact indispensable, in matters of correspondence, securing information, getting out printed matter and in giving the committee counsel based upon a superior knowledge of men and conditions in the business world.

"The question of vocational direction is merely one phase of the greater question of vocational education. As a contributory influence we believe serious aggressive work in this line will lead to several definite results, aside from the direct benefit to the pupils. It will create a demand for better literature on the subject of vocations. It will help increase the demand for more and better trade schools. It will cause teachers to seek to broaden their knowledge of opportunities for mechanical and mercantile training. Lastly, *it will tend to a more intelligent and generous treatment of employees* by business houses, the personal welfare and prospects of the employee being taken into account as well as the interests of the house itself."[1]

[1] Reprinted in Bloomfield, *op. cit.* pp. 35–41.

Report of the Students' Aid Committee of the New York City High School Teachers' Association on Vocational Guidance

There are now in all the day and evening high schools of New York City special committees whose aim it is to aid deserving students to secure employment during vacations and for out-of-school hours in order to earn a part of their support; to advise those who are ready to leave school, and others who are compelled to leave school, in the choice of a vocation; to direct them how best to fit themselves for their chosen vocation and to assist them in securing employment which will lead to success in those vocations. All these local committees have representatives in the general committee of the association. . . .

The general committee has been aiming to assist the local committees of the several schools: (1) by bringing to the attention of employers the fact that the schools are willing and ready to help them to select suitable recruits for their service; (2) by collecting information in regard to the opportunities which are open to the high school students who must seek employment; (3) by setting on foot movements for securing vacation employment.

Vacation employment has been found helpful to those who must earn something towards their own support in order to continue in school: (1) in supplying a little money to the boy whose growing spirit of independence tempts him to break with the school in order to satisfy that spirit through the possession of some money of his own; (2) in giving to the boy who becomes restless under the conditions of school work a taste of the prosy work-a-day world so that he may be better satisfied afterwards with the restrictions which the school must impose. . . .

Regarding the relative efficiency of the high school product it may be noted that of the ten thousand students who went out of the high schools into the commercial and industrial worlds less than 10 per cent applied to the committee for assistance and advice in the matter of securing employment. It may be assumed that among this tenth were those who were the most helpless. At four different times during the year the registers of applicants for employment were practically exhausted. This means that all the students who went out of these schools seeking employment had no difficulty in finding employment, and yet the reports of a hundred and ninety-three representative labor unions for December, 1908, indicate that out of sixty thousand members 28 per cent were out of employment. A canvass of all of the eleven hundred students attending one of the large evening high schools during the last week of December indicated that only thirty-two, or less than 3 per cent, were unemployed. Within a week the

local committee representing the school was enabled to place three fourths of that number. The students attending the evening high schools are, for the most part, those who are compelled to drop out of the day school. Another significant fact bearing on this question is the report of an investigation made about the same time by the Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor of one thousand consecutive applicants to the employment department of that society for assistance. It was found that 40 per cent of them were skilled laborers, and that the idleness of only 3 per cent of the entire number was due to inefficiency. These were also products of our public schools. Their condition seems to have been due not so much to the inefficiency of the schools from which they came as to the faulty industrial organizations which could not utilize their efficiency.

That employers are ready to use the product of the schools proves that this product is economically efficient, that the students who go out of the schools in their immaturity readily find employment during a season when labor is far in excess of the demand, proves that the high school student is relatively more efficient than any other class in the labor market. If the high school product does not continue to develop after it enters the market, it may prove that employers do not so organize their forces as to enable the employee to continue his development after he enters their service.

It is time that the schools, which have been subjected to the criticisms of the employers, should know what after care the students receive who go out from their walls. What would it profit the future of the state if she were to set aside her forest preserves, secure plants of good stock, prepare the ground and set out the seedlings, and then leave the young plants without thought or care to the mercenary who would exploit them for his own advantage? The state does not permit the intelligent and wealthy orphan of eighteen to intrust her fortune to the keeping of her relative without the consent and oversight of the courts, and yet she permits the well-trained but poor boy, who has no asset in the world but his time and his ambition, to sell the same in the market, without oversight or advice, to the employers of a city, among whom are those whose inhumanity has compelled the legislature to place upon our statute books the pitifully inadequate child labor laws. The government does not permit a grocer to sell to a millionaire a bottle of milk without its supervision, and yet it stands idly by while a young man or a boy gives the precious years of his youth for less than his board and clothes to an employer in exchange for prospects of advancement which the employer knows have no existence except in his own " help wanted " advertisement.

If the government which has found it necessary to compel reform in the advertisements of food products and proprietary medicine will

compel every advertiser for help to give his proper name and address, and to state what he expects and what he is willing to pay, a great service will be done for the most helpless part of our population.

A study made by Mr. H. G. Paine at the request of the Charity Organization Society into the character of the " help wanted " advertisements in two representative New York dailies for twelve Sunday issues showed that out of a total of 18,214 advertisements, 6130 were fakes. This is a most wasteful process, to say the least. Its bearing on the education of youth may be illustrated by a typical case of a genuine advertisement. On a rainy morning in July, one of the members of the committee went with a timid small boy to a stock broker's office in answer to an attractive advertisement for a bright, well-educated office boy. They found the outer office crowded with small boys. The manager supposed that the only man in the crowd was a prospective customer, called him into the office, and engaged his boy, joked about the mob outside, and directed his clerk to scatter it. The so-called mob of small boys consisted of a score of boys who had been graduated from the public schools the week before, got up early, scanned the papers, dressed themselves up, started out into the strange parts of the city, morning after morning, spending their scant allowance of pocket money in car fares to meet with most inconsiderate receptions and to write letters which were rarely answered. After each unsuccessful application they placed lower and lower estimates upon their own value. It was found afterwards that in this particular case the opening for the boy was to be only for the time during which the regular boy was absent on his vacation.

The day after this episode, the newspaper, to show what a valuable advertising medium it conducted, had a most humorous but a very unfeeling account of how it had rained office boys in Wall Street on the previous day. This account was accompanied by a cartoon, and the chairman of the committee was grateful that the cartoonist was ignorant of his presence in the deluge.

The present methods of conducting these columns permit managers of cheap commercial schools and irresponsible employment agencies to insert attractive advertisements for the purpose of securing choice lists of addresses to which to mail their literature. It is hard to understand why a reputable newspaper is a party to such petty frauds upon the poor and helpless.

Let us look at a few young people through the eyes of the employers in order that we may note what the causes are which give rise to the complaints from the employers.

I will quote two cases which may emphasize what you already know. The first boy has nothing in his favor except the training and the ambition which he has received in the public schools of the city.

He was graduated in February, wanted to go to college, but had to go to work in order to earn the money wherewith to pay his college expenses. The Monday after he had been graduated he went to work as an extra clerk in a large financial institution following another high school boy, who by doing the work in this position during his out-of-college hours for four years had paid his college expenses. This boy will never know but one employer until he is ready to enter upon the practice of his profession. His employer may never know this boy because the boy is not one of the blundering kind, and in the great concerns of this city, as in some high schools, the responsible heads become well acquainted only with their inefficient subordinates.

The contrasting case is that of a boy who graduated in the same class by virtue of complying with the minimum requirements of the school. The employment agent of his school declined to help him until he had shown that he had made an effort of his own in the direction of securing employment. After several weeks he came back with proofs that he had applied by letter or in person to over a hundred employers. He was directed to call upon his adviser at nine o'clock the following Saturday morning to go to interview an employer. He called at eleven instead, because his father " needed him to go on an errand first." As an advertisement of the inefficiency of the schools he is going about among employers raising himself to the one hundredth degree while your efficient product stands as a single unit. It is because the employer who advertises for help receives his replies largely from this floating and misfit element that the schools are so harshly judged. The remedy is found by teaching the employer that the best of the reserve corps is in the rear of the army in training, and not among those who are playing hide and seek around the camp baggage.

Of course, we must always expect to find some ne'er-do-wells, some who cannot represent themselves to good advantage to employers, and others who always will be unemployable; but it becomes us so to frame our courses of study and so to plan the routine of the schools as to help the first and to reduce the number of the second class. We want to know first why some are unemployable. A study of a few concrete cases will help to make our knowledge definite.

Some do not readily find employment because of a lack of knowledge of what is required by the market. From one of our high schools there came to the chairman of the committee recently a young man who was called home in the middle of his freshman year in college because of a domestic catastrophe which had shattered his home. His mother needed his help. It was impossible to discharge his new obligations by accepting the meager wages which are usually paid to beginners. Despondent and discouraged as he was, unskilled

and unfitted for any immediate work, he wandered around the city for several weeks before applying to his former teacher by whom he was sent to the committee. There are in this city thousands of employers who are looking for such young men. These employers, however, do not need to advertise for help. Somewhat awkward, but a splendid specimen of young manhood, loyal and unselfish, ambitious and determined he was. He was not at an age when he could present himself to good advantage. Within a week he was placed in congenial surroundings, and the committee has since received expressions of appreciation both from the boy and from the employer.

To help such young people to find themselves, this newly proposed vocation society can do a great service by making available to them the right kind of information at the time when they may need it. The committee, prompted by the need of such information, has undertaken the preparation of a series of vocation leaflets covering the different occupations which are open to the young people who go out from the high schools. In these are set forth the qualifications necessary for success and the remuneration and rate of advancement which may be expected in each of the several lines. These leaflets will be printed as fast as the funds of the committee will permit this to be done.

Some of our young people are unfortunate in making business connection because of *too much* faith in themselves. We have before us the case of a young man who was compelled at the last moment to seek work instead of taking a graduate course at college. Through the efforts of the committee a position was secured in a promising line for him. After his first week, because of some harsh criticism, he left his work. His case is typical of an increasing class. This young man may have had too much of *teaching* and too little *learning* in his school life. He had a ready mind, had acquired a great deal of knowledge, but he had never learned to take pleasure in solving difficulties for himself. He is learning that lesson, but he is paying heavily for the tuition.

The undue prominence which has been given to interest as an element in education, the disposition to expect more of the teachers and less and less of effort on the part of the student is perhaps responsible for the young people who have never acquired capacity for doing what they have not been taught. At best they can only expect to take and to retain positions as hired servants of some kind or other.

Many teachers have a feeling that the inspector judges them chiefly because of their power to direct and control the attention of the children; that he holds it is the teacher's business to supply the right outward stimuli and to ward off unfavorable distractions. Sometimes the boy gets the feeling that the teacher is responsible for his conduct; from this condition it is easy for him to develop into the attitude which

leads him "to do things because he wants to and the teacher can't touch him." The teachers, one after another, are wearied into passing the boy along until he has become indifferent to all the novelties which the best strategist of the school can invent. I remember one such boy. We stated his case fairly to an employer who afterwards agreed to give him a trial. After a few weeks in his position he was tempted to play a trick on a stupid associate. It was the kind of a trick which, in school, would have secured the boy a holiday until his mother or his father could have made arrangements to take a day off to see the principal, taken an hour or two of the valuable time of that official, made it necessary for the teacher and the clerk of the principal to make various and sundry entries in a conduct book and generally punished every one but the offender himself. In the business house it needed only twenty minutes to help the offender on with his overcoat, to give him his pay envelope and plant him on the sidewalk. The boy was unemployable and will likely remain unemployable as his recent history has seemed to indicate. That power of self-control which is so necessary to those who would get along with their fellows had never been developed in the boy. It might possibly have been developed by a well-graded course of treatment for nervous disorders, according to the prescriptions of the wise King Solomon.

An employer who uses a large number of girls in a factory in which the girls are expected to attend to certain machines stated in a public conference recently that not over 10 per cent of the girls who apply to him are employable at this work because of their inability to keep their eyes from wandering away from their work. It may be well to encourage the activities of the small child, to give its natural inclinations free play, but if young people are to be trained for usefulness in highly organized industries, they must be trained so that they may have the power of self-control and the ability to restrain themselves and the readiness to forego their inclinations and desires.

That he may be trained to useful service it would seem that as he advances from the kindergarten to the finishing school the child should find in his successive teachers less and less of the entertainer and more and more of the taskmaster. His high school teacher ought to have the highest standards of excellence and to regard with intolerance the lazy attitude of the adolescent boy. Of course, much harm may be done if a boy is to be punished for infirmities which are due to the physical condition of the adolescent.

I have in mind a case of this kind. I met the boy on the street in a gang of toughs after he had been dismissed from school in which he had in five terms succeeded in doing the work of only two terms. He was a fairly good grammar school boy, he entered the high school with good intentions, he succeeded fairly well in the first term. In his

second term the little boy suddenly outgrew his knickerbockers and became an uncouth, awkward fellow nearly six feet tall. He couldn't move without getting into some one's way. He was abused and ridiculed until he lost faith in himself and ceased making any effort whatsoever either in the way of work or of right conduct. Possibly provisions should have been made for putting him away where he could have done no harm until his nervous and muscular systems could have properly coördinated.

We took him off the street, got him into the hands of an employer in a factory where he was useful in carrying about trays of bolts from one department to another. Regular physical occupation, good surroundings, and some oversight by his evening school teacher saved the boy, and the boy who did only two terms' work in five terms in the day school completed his preparation for the technical school in three short terms of the evening school. He will be graduated as a mechanical engineer this season from one of our best schools and expects to reënter the services of the firm by whom he was first employed.

It should be emphasized, therefore, that it is a serious thing for the school, if, by setting too high a standard, it leads a boy to believe that he is not of the average capacity. If the high school work is well done, if the boy studies with care either biology or history or mathematics, so that he has in any sense a comprehensive grasp of either one of these subjects, it must follow that he will have a sense of his own insignificance which is wholly unknown to the young man who knows everything within the limits of one city block and knows nothing else. From its very nature, earnest and sound work in school and college tends to promote humility, while the man who masters only a limited field of endeavor, as does the man in the shop or the office, acquires in his own element a very great deal of confidence. This explains perhaps in a measure, why the young high school and the college graduate appear to such disadvantage when they first go out to work side by side with those of their same age with a foundation of experience in their common work. If the school knows to what work the student goes, it can, by a little advice, help him meet these first disadvantages which are inherent to the situation. The school should do this.

The high schools should endeavor to enlist a large number of the students in those activities which are planned to develop in the student the power of initiative. It must be unfortunate if students have been under direction throughout their entire school course. It may be the case that the assigned work employs their energies so completely that they lose all desire to learn anything which they are not directed or required to do by some one in authority.

A girl who had been graduated from one of our high schools and had afterwards taken a course in stenography in a business school was sent

by the employment committee of her own school to the chairman of the general committee. Her family had made sacrifices in order to secure for the girl the training which should make her independent. She had been attracted to stenography by the glowing terms in which a girl friend had painted this work. As she had been out of school for some time and was out of practice she was employed by the general committee until a suitable opening presented itself. After a week, an opening did present itself, and on the recommendations of the committee she was taken on trial and she held the position just one day. She was in despair over the failure. She had been well taught, she had good judgment in the use of words and was able to take notes and to transcribe correctly. She had no special interest in learning an unfamiliar typewriting machine at which she was set to work by the committee, she was satisfied to ask her employer to make the adjustments of the machine for her, she had not learned to keep her papers in order, or that the work must be done in a specified time. She expected her employer to be the successor of the indulgent teachers who had always been ready to wait upon her, and to put her things in order for her after the day's work was over. She may learn these lessons, but I fear that she also will pay heavily for the tuition.

If the pupils of our high schools are to be trained to go out for service, they must be taught to take some interest in their own surroundings, and ought to be made responsible for the things which they use and handle in school. In another state they are wrestling with an unfeeling member of the school board who cannot be made to see why the taxpayers should pay the laundry bills for the domestic science classes of the high schools. In our city, the students learn that high-salaried teachers must be ready to hand out to them paper and pencil and pen whenever they have need for the same. They learn to be waited on, and for the time it may be well enough, but it makes it so hard when they fall into the hands of an employer who does not readily learn new ways of doing things.

Just one more criticism. In one of the large evening schools, on a given evening a notice was sent to all the rooms requesting that those who were seeking employment should be sent to a room for a conference with a member of the committee. It was particularly specified that this conference would be at 7.30 o'clock. This was the time for the opening of the session, and it was assumed that the boy who was out of employment and who failed to be promptly on hand at the opening of the session was not a boy whom the committee cared to recommend. At the time specified eighteen candidates out of an attendance of over eight hundred appeared. After a very brief talk, the representative of the committee observed that two of the candidates were likely to prove acceptable to employers from whom calls had been received.

Letters of introduction were given to these two, and the next day they both reported engagements. By way of a test, the others were instructed to prepare a letter of application. They were directed to state in a separate letter to the representative of the committee what they would like to do and to make their letter of application to the employers a clear statement of the reasons why they should be engaged for the desired position. They were told that the committee would forward these letters to employers in the chosen lines of business. They were also instructed to have these letters ready the following evening at 7.15. Let it be remembered that this crowd of sixteen represented a very small remnant and the poorest remnant of all the great army from which it was sifted by the merciless operation of the laws of selection. Why were they eliminated?

The next evening at the appointed time not one had appeared. The first one, when questioned, remarked that he "didn't think it mattered." It was particularly specified that they were to write letters on unruled papers because it was supposed that it would be necessary for them to specially purchase this paper for this purpose. Not one had that kind of paper. Some had foolscap; most of them had little sheets of cheap letter paper, because they thought it "would do just as well." The writing was fairly good, but the matter of the letters was very indifferently expressed, and either the ability or the disposition to carry out instructions was absent.

On several occasions, through the courtesy of advertisers, I have been permitted to have the letters of rejected applicants for positions, and I am of the opinion that such letters are written largely by the element which was represented in this evening school residuum of sixteen. As young people, such persons are unemployable.

A discussion of this problem with many employers leads us to the belief that the kind of vocational training which the best of employers of this city would appreciate and the kind of vocational training which will be the best insurance against unemployment does not depend upon the content of the course of study. It is the vocational training which will give the student the capacity to understand instructions, the ability to interpret them, and the disposition to obey orders even though he does not at the time understand the reasons for doing what is required of him.

Let me not be misunderstood. I am dwelling upon these inefficient students for the purpose of calling attention to some things which might be remedied. These cases are the more noticeable because so few students whose progress has been followed by the members of the committee have failed to meet the expectations of their employers. By way of contrast with these bits of biography which I have given, let me quote from a letter which has been received by a member of the committee:—

"Perhaps you have forgotten me. When I graduated from the high school, I came to you with a long tale of woe because I could not afford to go to college in order to fit myself to become an engineer. You kindly planned a course for me and secured for me a position. I have been advanced from time to time by my employer. I am now twenty-one years old, and by the time the next college year begins, I shall have to my credit in the savings bank $1200. Some time ago I told my boss of my plans, and I offered to get him a high school boy to break in to do my work before I should leave.

"A few days afterwards he called me into his office and asked me fully about my plans. He then offered to put me in charge of a new department which the firm is organizing, if I should agree to remain with them. The firm is rapidly expanding its business, is connected with some of the leading financial institutions and contracting firms of the city.

"Now the question is, shall I give up my long-cherished plan to go to college? I have argued myself to a standstill on the subject, and I must depend upon you for advice. For any consideration which you can give the question and any time you can spare me at your convenience, let me thank you in advance, and let me again express my gratitude for your kindness and help in the past."

In a leading editorial in the *Brooklyn Eagle* under date of June 2, 1908, in referring to the work of the committee, the writer ended with this remark, "Some of the finest results of teaching come not from the routine of the classroom, but from the incidental association of pupils with men and women of character and helpfulness." The letter files of the committee are an indication of the confidential relations which exist between the pupils and their high school teachers.

Departmental teaching, the semiannual reorganization of the schools and the unusual size of our high schools tend to prevent the development of these confidential relations between pupils and teacher, unless special attention is given to the matter.

This interest in the student should not cease after his graduation. The successful student makes an appreciated school, and where the school is appreciated by the patrons, the work of the teacher becomes easier, and the influence of the school over the student becomes stronger.

As the ratio of the young people to the entire population of a city becomes less and less, it becomes more and more important that every cause which hinders the proper development of the young people should be removed. If the young people who go out from our schools and colleges of the smaller city of this day are not ready when their time comes in the much larger city of the future to manage the great enterprises, the alien must come in and do it for them.

The young people must be well equipped, and they must be started

in the right direction, but the large concerns in which they are employed should be so organized as to give to their workers reasonable encouragement to continue their own development after they enter upon their employment.

In order to insure continuity of employment and to be enabled to direct the subsequent development of these young people who were sent to their first employers, the committee has encouraged them to make periodical reports of their progress and to call upon the members for consultation, and it has been particularly emphasized that no student for whom the committee stood sponsor should of his own accord leave an employer without first consulting with the representative of his school.

After making all due allowance, the committee has learned enough from these reports of the young workers to be deeply impressed with the necessity for a change in the methods of handling new recruits, which even at this advanced day prevail in some business establishments.

We had a bright boy who was compelled to leave school because of the death of his father. In the course of the routine of our work we mail our employment circulars to firms by whom boys who come to us seeking work have been discharged. In answer to one of these circulars we received a request for a boy for a firm from whose services an evening school student had been discharged a few days before. They desired to secure a well-bred, intelligent boy to begin with "small salary and prospects of advancement." A representative of the committee went with the orphan to interview the manager. It was just the boy for whom he had been looking, and he was ready to engage him at once. The boy was expected to come to the place of business early, to set in order the outer office and to act as a sort of page and doorkeeper. After talking with the young fellow who had been discharged by the firm, it was discovered that he had been doing just that work for about two years, receiving four dollars a week the first year and five dollars the second year, and that he was expecting an increase to six dollars. Instead of advancing him, he was dismissed, and the firm saved two dollars a week by employing a new boy.

The business biography of another boy who went out of the lower grades of one of our schools four years ago indicates that he has been specially trained by the firm which employs him, and at present he is taking at one of our best schools a course of lessons in Spanish. The firm pays the tuition and allows him the time to attend upon instruction. In this city, the special training which is required in different lines of business is so varied that it would seem to be impossible for the schools to arrange to give all the training and instruction which may be needed to fit students for highly specialized service. To secure this

specialized training, the student must sacrifice so much time and energy, and since much of it has so little value outside of one particular line, and considering that the business interests of the city must pay for this training whether given in the school before the boy enters upon his employment or given after he enters the service of a given firm, it would seem far more economical for the firms who seek the services of specialists to encourage their own employees to acquire the required skill. Much of this specialized training is of far more value to the firm than it is to the individual, and the individual should not be expected to serve the firm at a loss to himself while he is getting the experience and special skill which is needed by the firm, unless that special skill has some value to the individual outside of his work in connection with that particular firm.

The worst of these antiquated methods is the fact that this unregulated apprentice service gives opportunity to unprincipled individuals to speculate upon the needs of the most helpless part of the community. A most aggravated case of this kind came to the attention of the committee. It should be said at the outset that such cases are not numerous. The vocation record of an evening school student was brought to the attention of the committee. The card showed that the boy had graduated from an elementary school at the age of fourteen; this seemed to indicate that he was a normal boy. He had been in the service of the same employer during the two years since graduation; this seemed to indicate that he was reliable and faithful. He had been regular and punctual in his attendance upon the evening school since graduating from the elementary school, even though he had to travel considerable distance in order to reach the evening school; this seemed to indicate that he had ambition and tenacity of purpose. His earnings were given at $3.50 per week. He was sent for, and a quiet talk was had with him in regard to his prospects and the nature of his employment. The boy's father was dead, his mother was a working woman, and the boy's employer was a member of the church of which both the boy and his mother were members. The boy and the mother were under the impression that he was learning a trade; on the contrary, the boy was employed to deliver packages of considerable value in different parts of the city. It was necessary to hold a special conference with the boy's mother to secure her consent to permit the boy to accept employment at another place at seven dollars a week.

It is usual for a member of a committee to call upon a firm when the first request for help is received in order to know what is expected, so that selections may be more carefully made. The manager of a long-established firm, by way of apology for the low wages which it offered, said that the boys have opportunity to earn considerable above their

regular weekly pay. A good young fellow was sent to them. In his first report he wrote: "I am only receiving $6 per week. The other fellows think I am easy because I do not fall into the practice of delaying my work until after the closing hour so that I can cash in my overtime check for the extra fifty cents which is paid to those who are kept beyond the usual time." This system surely seemed to offer a premium to delinquents, and it did not really add to the earnings of the boys, because the extra fifty cents was considered as so much money "found" and was squandered accordingly. In justice to the firm it may be added that when the young man's letter was forwarded to the manager, he promptly promoted the writer over the heads of his fellows to a more responsible position at increased pay.

The committee has issued a special circular setting forth some of the conditions under which boys are accepted by responsible firms in order to learn trades. It has been surprising to notice how few boys cared to consider these opportunities. This may be due to the experience of other members of their families. In most of the trades the boys and girls are made to be parts of automatic machines so long that they become useless to themselves and the community and their employers whenever a change on the methods of the factory puts the particular machine at which they are working out of business. A boy of twenty who had found himself a part of such an organization was struggling to emancipate himself. After several conferences with him, his evening school teacher reported what seemed to be the conditions of this factory. It was a fountain pen factory. All the parts were made by specially constructed and automatic machinery. A worker's highest efficiency was secured by keeping him at one of these machines. Boys and girls were found to be taught readily and to become, in a little time, very efficient, but the work was deadening, and it destroyed the worker himself. After he had grown up, he lost some of his muscular activity, became restless because of the low wages which prevailed in the shop, was discharged, and other boys were hired to take his place.

Even if a boy should develop a higher skill than that which is demanded by the particular work which he is engaged to do, it is difficult in many highly organized concerns for him to make his new acquisitions known to his responsible superiors. These superiors are not so much to blame in many cases as the system under which the work is carried on. A young man who graduated from one of our high schools four years ago was employed in a large factory. After he had been at work for some time with the firm, in a conference with his adviser, he expressed an ambition to get into the firm's laboratory. He was directed to enter Cooper Institute for the evening course in chemistry and to specialize in the work which was most likely to be

required by his firm. He took the advice, plodded on year after year in his self-imposed task, and completed his education in that line, but he could not get his firm to recognize nor to consider his request to be transferred to the department for which he had prepared himself. It was only after he had secured a position with another firm through the efforts of the committee that his former employers made him an offer to advance him to the laboratory.

It would be wrong to leave the impression that other methods do not prevail. The best firms employ especially trained men and women to look after the welfare of their employees; many of them have in operation systems which are designed to develop the efficiency of their employees and to bring to the front those who show unusual degrees of efficiency. Others offer cash premiums and valuable prizes to the employees who show special skill or who devise improvements in the methods of doing business.

But enough has been said. The employers of labor have done much to make this great city what it is. They need our young people. There are those who deserve the best we can give them. Courses of study, fixed programs and graduation from the high school are important, but the real important aim is to keep the boy in school until he is fit for something and then to have him ready, when the demand comes for him, to hand over to the employer for whose services by nature and training he is best fitted and whose service is designed to develop the employee as well as to profit the employer.

This work has passed the experimental stage, and the committee has recommended (1) that the vocational officers of the large high schools should be given at least one extra period of unassigned time to attend to this work and that they should be relieved from all special assignments in consideration of the time out of school which this work is likely to require, (2) that they should be provided with facilities for keeping the records of the students who go out from their schools and the records of the requirements of the employers who may call upon them from time to time for assistance in selecting recruits for their service, (3) and that they should be furnished opportunities for holding conferences with students and employers.

Through these vocational advisers the schools may be able to help the comparatively small number who need help of this kind. For the larger number it is not so much that they need help in securing employment as that they need advice in wisely selecting their work and oversight in working out their vocational aims. That this advice may be given wisely, a knowledge of the constantly changing wants of the city must be made available to teachers. To secure this knowledge and to make it available to teachers and students, there should be a properly organized vocational directory for the community.

The functions of the director should be to enlist the coöperation of the business men to study the requirements of employers and to establish friendly relations between groups of employers and those schools which, because of the character of their students, their location or their facilities for instruction, are best designed to meet the wants of these employers. He would also be in a position to recommend such modifications of the work of the schools as to enable them best to meet the wants of the employers with whom they are in touch.

Such a vocational director should collect and make available for the teachers, and for the students of the several schools through publications and lectures, information which should deal with the requirements for success in the learned professions, the skilled trades and the commercial pursuits, the readiest means through which these requirements can be met by the young people, and the return which properly qualified young people may expect after they enter the several vocations. By anticipating industrial and commercial changes through such an agency it would be possible to prevent the overcrowding in some lines of work and to provide for the needs of new activities. The vocational director of the community would be doing for its young people, in order to help them realize their highest possibilities, what the government is now doing for the industrial and agricultural classes.

Such a plan, to be successful in the highest degree, must enlist all classes of employers, and serve impartially all efficient educational agencies of the city. In order to enable him to be the real exponent of the business community, to be free to refuse to help inefficient students and to aid unfair employers, the general vocational director should perhaps be supported independently of the school authorities.

Maintenance of such a general vocational agency would require but a fraction of the amount which would be needed to endow a college. Because it would provide a means of stimulating the intellectual enterprises of the city, provide an agency for promoting greater industrial efficiency, become an active force for insuring the welfare of large masses, the organization and development of a pioneer enterprise of this kind must surely appeal to generously minded people of this city who have been so ready in the past to give vast fortunes for the establishment of training schools in this and in other lands, and other fortunes for the amelioration of the conditions of the defective, the dependent and the delinquent classes. It is an appeal to them to establish proper guide posts which will enable poor but deserving young people of this city who have struggled to fit themselves for usefulness and whose parents meanwhile have made sacrifices to find their way to success without loss of time or waste of energy in the very complex life of this city.

Report of the Work of the Students' Aid Committee of the High School Teachers' Association of New York City, by E. W. Weaver. 1909.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Study carefully for critical discussion the self-examination questions prepared by the Boston Vocation Bureau. Parsons, *Choosing a Vocation.*
2. What influences tend to make a youth postpone unduly the choice of his life work? What remedies can you suggest for this condition?
3. What can be said for or against the early realization of a life-career motive?
4. Outline carefully the social importance and social need for vocational guidance. Bloomfield, 1–23; 109–116.
5. Describe the different types of vocational guidance attempted both in this country and abroad. (Bloomfield, Publications of the "Students' Aid Committee" of New York City, etc.)
6. Vocational guidance as an aspect of public education.
7. The training and duties of the vocational counselor.
8. What are some of the dangers attending the work of vocational guidance?

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publishes a number of bulletins containing practical suggestions on choosing a vocation, *e.g.* "Choosing a Career, a circular of information for boys," etc.

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CHAPTER XI

EDUCATION AS A FACTOR IN SOCIAL PROGRESS

The School and Social Progress

We are apt to look at the school from an individualistic standpoint, as something between teacher and pupil, or between teacher and parent. That which interests us most is naturally the progress made by the individual child of our acquaintance, his normal physical development, his advance in ability to read, write and figure, his growth in the knowledge of geography and history, improvement in manners, habits of promptness, order and industry, — it is from such standards as these that we judge the work of the school. And rightly so. Yet the range of the outlook needs to be enlarged. What the best and wisest parent wants for his own child, that must the community want for all its children. Any other ideal for our schools is narrow and unlovely; acted upon, it destroys our democracy. All that society has accomplished for itself is put, through the agency of the school, at the disposal of its future members. All its better thoughts of itself it hopes to realize through the new possibilities thus opened to its future self. Here individualism and socialism are at one. Only by being true to the full growth of all the individuals who make it up, can society by any chance be true to itself. And in the self-direction thus given, nothing counts as much as the school, for, as Horace Mann said, "Where anything is growing, one former is worth a thousand re-formers."

Whenever we have in mind the discussion of a new movement in education, it is especially necessary to take the broader, or social, view. Otherwise, changes in the school institution and tradition will be looked at as the arbitrary inventions of particular teachers; at the worst transitory fads, and at the best merely improvements in certain details — and this is the plane upon which it is too customary to consider school changes. It is as rational to conceive of the locomotive or the telegraph as personal devices. The modification going on in the method and curriculum of education is as much a

product of the changed social situation, and as much an effort to meet the needs of the new society that is forming, as are changes in modes of industry and commerce.

It is to this, then, that I especially ask your attention: the effort to conceive what roughly may be termed the "New Education" in the light of larger changes in society. Can we connect this "New Education" with the general march of events? If we can, it will lose its isolated character, and will cease to be an affair which proceeds only from the overingenious minds of pedagogues dealing with particular pupils. It will appear as part and parcel of the whole social evolution, and, in its more general features at least, as inevitable. Let us then ask after the main aspects of the social movement; and afterwards turn to the school to find what witness it gives of effort to put itself in line. And since it is quite impossible to cover the whole ground, I shall for the most part confine myself to one typical thing in the modern school movement — that which passes under the name of manual training, hoping, if the relation of that to changed social conditions appears we shall be ready to concede the point as well regarding other educational innovations.

I make no apology for not dwelling at length upon the social changes in question. Those I shall mention are writ so large that he who runs may read. The change that comes first to mind and the one that overshadows and even controls all others, is the industrial one — the application of science resulting in the great inventions that have utilized the forces of nature on a vast and inexpensive scale: the growth of a world-wide market as the object of production, of vast manufacturing centers to supply this market, of cheap and rapid means of communication and distribution between all its parts. Even as to its feebler beginnings, this change is not much more than a century old; in many of its most important aspects it falls within the short span of those now living. One can hardly believe there has been a revolution in all history so rapid, so extensive, so complete. Through it the face of the earth is making over, even as to its physical forms; political boundaries are wiped out and moved about, as if they were indeed only lines on a paper map; population is hurriedly gathered into cities from the ends of the earth; habits of living are altered with startling abruptness and thoroughness; the search for the truths of nature is infinitely stimulated and facilitated and their application to life made not only practicable, but commercially necessary. Even our moral and religious ideas and interests, the most conservative because the deepest-lying things in our nature, are profoundly affected. That this revolution should not affect education in other than formal and superficial fashion is inconceivable.

Back of the factory system lies the household and neighborhood system. Those of us who are here to-day need go back only one, two, or at the most three, generations, to find a time when the household was practically the center in which were carried on, or about which were clustered, all the typical forms of industrial occupation. The clothing worn was for the most part not only made in the house, but the members of the household were usually familiar with the shearing of the sheep, the carding and spinning of the wool, and the plying of the loom. Instead of pressing a button and flooding the house with electric light, the whole process of getting illumination was followed in its toilsome length from the killing of the animal and the trying of fat, to the making of wicks and dipping of candles. The supply of flour, of lumber, of foods, of building materials, of household furniture, even of metal ware, of nails, hinges, hammers, etc., was in the immediate neighborhood, in shops which were constantly open to inspection and often centers of neighborhood congregations. The entire industrial process stood revealed, from the production on the farm of the raw materials, till the finished article was actually put to use. Not only this, but practically every member of the household had his own share in the work. The children, as they gained in strength and capacity, were gradually initiated into the mysteries of the several processes. It was a matter of immediate and personal concern, even to the point of actual participation.

We cannot overlook the factors of discipline and of character building involved in this: training in habits of order and of industry, and in the idea of responsibility, of obligation to do something, to produce something, in the world. There was always something which really needed to be done, and a real necessity that each member of the household should do his own part faithfully and in coöperation with others. Personalities which became effective in action were bred and tested in the medium of action. Again, we cannot overlook the importance for educational purposes of the close and intimate acquaintance got with nature at first hand, with real things and materials, with the actual processes of their manipulation, and the knowledge of their social necessities and uses. In all this there was continual training of observation, of ingenuity, constructive imagination, of logical thought and of the sense of reality acquired through first-hand contact with actualities. The educative forces of the domestic spinning and weaving, of the sawmill, the gristmill, the cooper shop and the blacksmith forge were continuously operative.

No number of object lessons, got up as object lessons for the sake of giving information, can afford even the shadow of a substitute for acquaintance with the plants and animals of the farm and gar-

den, acquired through actual living among them and caring for them. No training of sense organs in school, introduced for the sake of training, can begin to compete with the alertness and fullness of sense life that comes through daily intimacy and interest in familiar occupations. Verbal memory can be trained in committing tasks, a certain discipline of the reasoning powers can be acquired through lessons in science and mathematics; but, after all, this is somewhat remote and shadowy compared with the training of attention and of judgment that is acquired in having to do things with a real motive behind and a real outcome ahead. At present, concentration of industry and division of labor have practically eliminated household and neighborhood occupations — at least for educational purposes. But it is useless to bemoan the departure of the good old days of children's modesty, reverence and implicit obedience, if we expect merely by bemoaning and exhortation to bring them back. It is radical conditions which have changed, and only an equally radical change in education suffices. We must recognize our compensations — the increase in toleration, in breadth of social judgment, the larger acquaintance with human nature, the sharpened alertness in reading signs of character and interpreting social situations, greater accuracy of adaptation of differing personalities, contact with greater commercial activities. These considerations mean much to the city-bred child of to-day. Yet there is a real problem: how shall we retain these advantages, and yet introduce into the school something representing the other side of life — occupations which exact personal responsibilities and which train the child with relation to the physical realities of life?

When we turn to the school, we find that one of the most striking tendencies at present is toward the introduction of so-called manual training, shop work and the household arts — sewing and cooking. This has not been done "on purpose," with a full consciousness that the school must now supply the factor of training formerly taken care of in the home, but rather by instinct, by experimenting and finding that such work takes a vital hold of pupils and gives them something which was not to be got in any other way. Consciousness of its real import is still so weak that the work is often done in a half-hearted, confused and unrelated way. The reasons assigned to justify it are painfully inadequate or sometimes even positively wrong.

If we were to cross-examine even those who are most favorably disposed to the introduction of this work into our school system, we should, I imagine, generally find the main reasons to be that such work engages the full spontaneous interest and attention of the children. It keeps them alert and active, instead of passive and recep-

tive; it makes them more useful, more capable and hence more inclined to be helpful at home; it prepares them to some extent for the practical duties of later life — girls to be more efficient house managers, if not actually cooks and seamstresses; the boys (were our educational system only adequately rounded out into trade schools) for their vocations. I do not underestimate the worth of these reasons. Of those indicated by the changed attitude of the children I shall indeed have something to say in my next talk when speaking directly of the relationship of the school to the child. But the point of view is, upon the whole, unnecessarily narrow. We must conceive of work in wood and metal, of weaving, sewing and cooking, as methods of life, not as distinct studies.

We must conceive of them, in their social significance, as types of the processes by which society keeps itself going, as agencies for bringing home to the child some of the primal necessities of community life and as ways in which these needs have been met by the growing insight and ingenuity of man; in short, as instrumentalities through which the school itself shall be made a genuine form of active community life, instead of a place set apart in which to learn lessons.

A society is a number of people held together because they are working along common lines, in a common spirit, and with reference to common aims. The common needs and aims demand a growing interchange of thought and growing unity of sympathetic feeling. The radical reason that the present school cannot organize itself as a natural social unit is because just this element of common and productive activity is absent. Upon the playground, in game and sport, social organization takes place spontaneously and inevitably. There is something to do, some activity to be carried on, requiring natural divisions of labor, selection of leaders and followers, mutual coöperation and emulation. In the schoolroom the motive and the cement of social organization are alike wanting. Upon the ethical side, the tragic weakness of the present school is that it endeavors to prepare future members of the social order in a medium in which the conditions of the social spirit are eminently wanting.

The difference that appears when occupations are made the articulating centers of school life is not easy to describe in words; it is a difference in motive, of spirit and atmosphere. As one enters a busy kitchen in which a group of children are actively engaged in the preparation of food, the psychological difference, the change from more or less passive and inert recipiency and restraint to one of buoyant outgoing energy is so obvious as fairly to strike one in the face. Indeed, to those whose image of the school is rigidly set the change is sure to give a shock. But the change in the social attitude is equally marked. The mere absorption of facts and truths is so ex-

clusively individual an affair that it tends very naturally to pass into selfishness. There is no obvious social motive for the acquirement of mere learning, there is no clear social gain in success thereat. Indeed, almost the only measure for success is a competitive one, in the bad sense of that term — a comparison of results in the recitation or in the examination to see which child has succeeded in getting ahead of others in storing up, in accumulating the maximum of information. So thoroughly is this the prevalent atmosphere that for one child to help another in his task has become a school crime. Where the school work consists in simply learning lessons, mutual assistance, instead of being the most natural form of coöperation and association, becomes a clandestine effort to relieve one's neighbor of his proper duties. Where active work is going on all this is changed. Helping others, instead of being a form of charity which impoverishes the recipient, is simply an aid in setting free the powers and furthering the impulse of the one helped. A spirit of free communication, of interchange of ideas, suggestions, results, both successes and failures of previous experiences, becomes the dominating note of the recitation. So far as emulation enters in, it is in the comparison of individuals, not with regard to the quantity of information personally absorbed, but with reference to the quality of work done — the genuine community standard of value. In an informal but all the more pervasive way, the school life organizes itself on a social basis.

Within this organization is found the principal of school discipline or order. Of course, order is simply a thing which is relative to an end. If you have the end in view of forty or fifty children learning certain set lessons, to be recited to a teacher, your discipline must be devoted to securing that result. But the end in view is the development of a spirit of social coöperation and community life; discipline must grow out of and be relative to this. There is little order of one sort where things are in process of construction; there is certain disorder in any busy workshop; there is not silence; persons are not engaged in maintaining certain fixed physical postures; their arms are not folded; they are not holding their books thus and so. They are doing a variety of things, and there is the confusion, the bustle, that results from activity. But out of occupation, out of doing things that are to produce results, and out of doing these in a social and coöperative way, there is born a discipline of its own kind and type. Our whole conception of school discipline changes when we get this point of view. In critical moments we all realize that the only discipline that stands by us, the only training that becomes intuition, is that got through life itself. That we learn from experience, and from books or the sayings of others only as they are related to experience, are not mere phrases. But the school has been

so set apart, so isolated from the ordinary conditions and motives of life, that the place where children are sent for discipline is the one place in the world where it is most difficult to get experience — the mother of all discipline worth the name. It is only where a narrow and fixed image of traditional school discipline dominates that one is in any danger of overlooking that deeper and infinitely wider discipline that comes from having a part to do in constructive work, in contributing to a result which, social in spirit, is none the less obvious and tangible in form — and hence in a form with reference to which responsibility may be exacted and accurate judgment passed.

The great thing to keep in mind, then, regarding the introduction into the school of various forms of active occupation is that through them the entire spirit of the school is renewed. It has a chance to affiliate itself with life, to become the child's habitat, where he learns through direct living instead of being only a place to learn lessons having an abstract and remote reference to some possible living to be done in the future. It gets a chance to be a miniature community, an embryonic society. This is the fundamental fact, and from this arise continuous and orderly sources of instruction. Under the industrial régime described, the child, after all, shared in the work, not for the sake of the sharing, but for the sake of the product. The educational results secured were real, yet incidental and dependent. But in the school the typical occupations followed are freed from all economic stress. The aim is not the economic value of the products, but the development of social power and insight. It is this liberation from narrow utilities, this openness to the possibilities of the human spirit, that makes these practical activities in the school allies of art and centers of science and history.

But all this means a necessary change in the attitude of the school, one of which we are as yet far from realizing the full force. Our school methods, and to a very considerable extent our curriculum, are inherited from the period when learning and command of certain symbols, affording as they did the only access to learning, were all-important. The ideals of this period are still largely in control, even where the outward methods and studies have been changed. We sometimes hear the introduction of manual training, art and science into the elementary, and even the secondary, schools deprecated on the ground that they tend toward the production of specialists — that they detract from our present scheme of generous, liberal culture. The point of this objection would be ludicrous if it were not often so effective as to make it tragic. It is our present education which is highly specialized, one-sided and narrow. It is an education dominated almost entirely by the medieval conception of learning. It is something which appeals for the most part simply to the

intellectual aspect of our natures, our desire to learn, to accumulate information, and to get control of the symbols of learning; not to our impulses and tendencies to make, to do, to create, to produce, whether in the form of utility or of art. The very fact that manual training, art and science are objected to as technical, as tending toward mere specialism, is of itself as good testimony as could be offered to the specialized aim which controls current education. Unless education had been virtually identified with the exclusively intellectual pursuits, with learning as such, all these materials and methods would be welcome, would be greeted with the utmost hospitality.

But why should I make this labored presentation? The obvious fact is that our social life has undergone a thorough and radical change. If our education is to have any meaning for life, it must pass through an equally complete transformation. This transformation is not something to appear suddenly, to be executed in a day by conscious purpose. It is already in progress. Those modifications of our school system which often appear (even to those most actively concerned with them, to say nothing of their spectators) to be mere changes of detail, mere improvement within the school mechanism, are in reality signs and evidences of evolution. The introduction of active occupations, of nature study, of elementary science, of art, of history; the relegation of merely symbolic and formal studies to a secondary position; the change in the moral school atmosphere, in the relation of pupils and teachers — of discipline; the introduction of more active, expressive and self-directing factors — all these are not mere accidents; they are necessities of the larger social evolution. It remains but to organize all these factors, to appreciate them in their fullness of meaning, and to put the ideas and ideals involved into complete, uncompromising possession of our school system. To do this means, to make each one of our schools an embryonic community life, active and with types of occupations that reflect the life of the larger society, and permeated throughout with the spirit of art, history, and science. When the school introduces and trains each child of society into membership within such a little community, saturating him with the spirit of service, and providing him with the instruments of effective self-direction, we shall have the deepest and best guarantee of a large society which is worthy, lovely and harmonious. . . .

From the standpoint of the child, the great waste in the school, comes from his inability to utilize the experiences he gets outside the school in any complete and free way within the school itself; while, on the other hand, he is unable to apply in daily life what he is learning at school. That is the isolation of the school — its isolation from life. When the child gets into the schoolroom, he has to put out of his mind a large part of the ideas, interests and activities that pre-

dominate in his home and neighborhood. So the school, being unable to utilize this everyday experience, sets painfully to work, on another tack and by a variety of means, to arouse in the child an interest in school studies. While I was visiting in the city of Moline a few years ago, the superintendent told me that they found many children every year, who were surprised to learn that the Mississippi River in the textbook had anything to do with the stream of water flowing past their homes. The geography being simply a matter of the schoolroom, it is more or less of an awakening to many children to find that the whole thing is nothing but a more formal and definite statement of the facts which they see, feel and touch every day. When we think that we all live on the earth, that we live in an atmosphere, that our lives are touched at every point by the influence of the soil, flora and fauna, by considerations of light and heat, and then think of what the school study of geography has been, we have a typical idea of the gap existing between the everyday experiences of the child and the isolated material supplied in such large measure in the school. This is but an instance, and one upon which most of us may reflect long before we take the present artificiality of the school as other than a matter of course or necessity.

Though there should be organic connection between the school and business life, it is not meant that the school is to prepare the child for any particular business, but that there should be a natural connection of the everyday life of the child with the business environment about him, and that it is the affair of the school to clarify and liberalize this connection, to bring it to consciousness, not by introducing special studies, like commercial geography and arithmetic, but by keeping alive the ordinary bonds of relation. The subject of compound-business partnership is probably not in many of the arithmetics nowadays, though it was there not a generation ago, for the makers of textbooks said that if they left out anything, they could not sell their books. This compound-business partnership originated as far back as the sixteenth century. The joint-stock company had not been invented, and as large commerce with the Indies and Americas grew up, it was necessary to have an accumulation of capital with which to handle it. One man said, "I will put in this amount of money for six months," and another, "So much for two years," and so on. Thus by joining together they got money enough to float their commercial enterprises. Naturally, then, "compound partnership" was taught in the schools. The joint-stock company was invented, compound partnership disappeared, but the problems relating to it stayed in the arithmetics for two hundred years. They were kept after they had ceased to have practical utility, for the sake of mental discipline — they were "such hard

problems, you know." A great deal of what is now in the arithmetics under the head of percentage is of the same nature. Children of twelve and thirteen years of age go through gain-and-loss calculations and various forms of bank discount, so complicated that the bankers long ago dispensed with them. And when it is pointed out that business is not done this way, we hear again of "mental discipline." And yet there are plenty of real connections between the experience of children and business conditions which need to be utilized and illuminated. The child should study his commercial arithmetic and geography, not as isolated things by themselves, but in their reference to his social environment. The youth needs to become acquainted with the bank as a factor in modern life, with what it does, and how it does it; and then relevant arithmetical processes would have some meaning — quite in contradistinction to the time-absorbing and mind-killing examples in percentage, partial payments, etc., found in all our arithmetics.

There is much of utter triviality of subject matter in elementary and secondary education. When we investigate it, we find that it is full of facts taught that are not facts, which have to be unlearned later on. Now, this happens because the "lower" parts of our system are not in vital connection with the "higher." The university or college, in its idea, is a place of research, where investigation is going on; a place of libraries and museums, where the best resources of the past are gathered, maintained and organized. It is, however, as true in the school as in the university that the spirit of inquiry can be got only through and with the attitude of inquiry.

The pupil must learn what has meaning, what enlarges his horizon, instead of mere trivialities. He must become acquainted with truths, instead of things that were regarded as such fifty years ago, or that are taken as interesting by the misunderstanding of a partially educated teacher. It is difficult to see how these ends can be reached except as the most advanced part of the educational system is in complete interaction with the most rudimentary.

The school must come out of its isolation and secure the organic connection with social life of which we have been speaking.

The object of these forms of practice in the school is not found chiefly in themselves, or in the technical skill of cooks, seamstresses, carpenters and masons, but in their connection, on the social side, with the life without, while on the individual side they respond to the child's need of action, of expression, of desire to do something, to be constructive and creative, instead of simply passive and conforming. Their great significance is that they keep the balance between the social and individual sides — the chart symbolizing particularly the connection with the social. Here on one side is the home. How

naturally the lines of connection play back and forth between the home and the kitchen and the textile room of the school! The child can carry over what he learns in the home and utilize it in the school, and the things learned in the school he applies at home. These are the two great things in breaking down isolation, in getting connection — to have the child come to school with all the experience he has got outside the school, and to leave it with something to be immediately used in his everyday life. The child comes to the traditional school with a healthy body and a more or less unwilling mind. Though, in fact, he does not bring both his body and mind with him; he has to leave his mind behind, because there is no way to use it in the school. If he had a purely abstract mind, he could bring it to school with him, but his is a concrete one, interested in concrete things, and unless these things get over into school life, he cannot take his mind with him. What we want is to have the child come to school with a whole mind and a whole body, and leave school with a fuller mind and an even healthier body.

Thus I have attempted to indicate how the school may be connected with life so that the experience gained by the child in a familiar, commonplace way is carried over and made use of there, and what the child learns in the school is carried back and applied in everyday life, making the school an organic whole instead of a composite of isolated parts. The isolation of studies as well as of parts of the school system disappears. Experience has its geographical aspect, its artistic and its literary, its scientific and its historical, sides. All studies arise from aspects of the one earth and the one life lived upon it. We do not have a series of stratified earths, one of which is mathematical, another physical, another historical and so on. We should not live very long in any one taken by itself. We live in a world where all sides are bound together. All studies grow out of relations in the one great common world. When the child lives in varied but concrete and active relationship to this common world, his studies are naturally unified. It will no longer be a problem to correlate studies. The teacher will not have to resort to all sorts of devices to weave a little arithmetic into the history lessons, and the like. Relate the school to life, and all studies are of necessity correlated.

Moreover, if the school is related as a whole to life as a whole, its various aims and ideals — culture, discipline, information, utility — cease to be variants, for one of which we must select one study and for another, another. The growth of the child in the direction of social capacity and service, his larger and more vital union with life, becomes the unifying aim; and discipline, culture and information fall into place as phases of this growth.

J. Dewey, Extracts from *The School and Society*. Chicago, 1899.

Relation of Education to Social Progress

Thoughtful people of all times have regarded the school as an important factor in social evolution.

Ross [1] says, "School education, in our day, is a mighty engine of progress. The teacher has a wider outlook and a freer mind than the average parent." Scott,[2] "The school at its best is a prophecy of a better and nobler life." Ellwood,[3] "Education is a means of controlling habit and character in complex social groups, and as such it is the chief means to which society must look for all substantial social progress. It is the instrument by which human nature may be apparently indefinitely modified, and hence, also, the instrument by which society may be perfected. The task of regeneration is essentially a task of education." Dewey calls the school a fundamental means of social progress and reform. Such statements as these should stimulate the student of the social aspects of education not only to a detailed and careful analysis of the relation of education to progress, but also to a determination of the ways in which it may play an even larger part in social development.

To deal even in a general way with such questions as these, we need to have at least a working hypothesis of what may properly be meant by social progress. We must be careful, however, not to devote attention to mere niceties of thought so as to lose sight of the more concrete and practical phases.

It is easier to tell some of the changes that have taken place and are taking place in society than to define progress abstractly. If we are convinced beforehand that modern society is progressive, we will then think of these changes as, in the main, making for progress. We all probably believe, for one thing, that genuine social progress must mean increased human happiness in some form or other. This is not the place to discuss the conditions of happiness. The ultimate ground of happiness, of course, is the individual himself and his way of looking at life and the thoughts he harbors in his mind. There are, to be sure, many external conditions which help or hinder the development of the proper inner attitude, and social progress may be stated to some extent in terms of these external conditions. Hence we think of de-

[1] *Social Psychology.* [2] *Social Education.* [3] *Sociology and Modern Social Problems.*

crease of disease, poverty and crime, betterment of heredity, increase of general material comfort, of opportunities for recreation and social intercourse, opportunity for each individual to engage in some sort of production recognized as useful to society and increase of knowledge as evidences of social progress.

Human society is in process of ceaseless change and differentiation, changes which often seem to bear no positive relation to individual and social betterment. In fact, the chief difficulty of defining human progress lies in its complexity and in the fact that it is too often unequal. In the long run, the mastery and the conservation of the resources of nature are elements of social evolution, although at any given moment misery rather than increased happiness may seem to be the outcome. Progress, we may conceive, as involving a series of more or less complex changes in human nature, in social relations and in man's relation to his environment which, in the long run, make for greater general happiness and greater efficiency in the attainment of life's ideals.[1]

How are these things accomplished? Ellwood specifies three means. "The lowest method of evolution was by [natural] selection, and that . . . cannot be neglected. The next method of social evolution apparently to develop was the method of adaptation by organized authority, and . . . organized authority in society, or social regulation by means of authority, must indefinitely persist and perhaps increase, rather than diminish; but the latest and highest method of social evolution is not through biological selection nor through the exercise of despotic authority, but through the education of the individual. . . . Human society may be modified best, we now see, through modifying the nature of the individual, and the most direct method [of doing] this is through education."[2]

When we come to specify in detail the ways in which education may make for social betterment, we note first of all what it may actually accomplish when reduced to its lowest terms. The crude education of savage peoples serves to keep the primitive social group up

[1] It would carry us far beyond our present purpose to attempt to say what these ideals are, or whence they come. We shall here simply assume that man *has* ideals and that progress is to be measured by the degree of his attainment of them.

[2] *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, p. 318.

to the existing level of culture. It is at least a conserver of existing culture. In some way or other, every society must accomplish this much, or retrogression is inevitable. Furthermore, every educational process tends to be selective. Not every aspect of even a primitive culture can be taught in detail; something must be chosen and much ignored, and, in the long run, it is probable that the higher aspects of a society's culture are selected and emphasized through education. In this way, something, little though it may be, is contributed to the advancement of the social group. It is then through the more or less conscious selection of the more useful knowledge, and of the best modes of conduct and through the endeavor to eliminate the less desirable habits and modes of thought, that society is able in some measure to lift itself through its schools. It is of course the ideal of the best educators to teach the best and most stimulating phases of human achievement, to fill the minds of boys and girls with noble examples of high-minded living from history and literature. In so doing, they are contributing in an important way to social progress. The chief limitation of this influence is that it does not occupy the child's attention sufficiently. There are so many other influences within and without the school to dim, if not to obliterate, the impression. However, something can thus be accomplished. To give some very simple illustrations, the level of purity and effectiveness in the use of the mother tongue can thus be raised. The appreciation of the best literature can be more widely disseminated; public taste for music and art can be improved. There can be no doubt but that by such a process of wise selection of materials the schools do effect a gradual improvement in society in various lines. In precisely the same way moral improvement of society may be fostered, although pitiably little in this direction is to-day attempted by public education.

It is manifest, however, that selection will not go far toward securing social progress unless it is guided by a *consciousness* of its possibilities and a systematic attempt to utilize the opportunities afforded. It is just this conscious and definite attempt to select and teach the best to the immature members of the social group that is the most significant aspect of modern educational activity.

In the chapters preceding we have taken up various aspects of this extension of current education. The movements for vocational train-

ing, for playgrounds, for school gardens, all represent various attempts to select, emphasize and promote certain desirable aspects of present-day culture.

In these far-reaching extensions of teaching activity it would seem that, for the first time, social progress is to be definitely and largely determined by educational forces. It is perhaps sufficient, for all practical purposes, to recognize these tendencies and to note that they are apparently a natural and inevitable expression of the type of social life which is unfolding in our midst. The thinker, however, will be interested to relate this broadening of educational activity to general social movements, to determine if possible the principles underlying this extension of the teaching function. In other words, to find, if possible, a consistent theoretical justification for the school as an active factor in the processes of social readjustment and social progress.

This justification, on the side of educational theory, may be based upon the point of view presented in earlier sections of this book; namely, that in the beginning educational activity takes its rise in some more or less clearly felt social need. Social groups demand training of particular kinds, and various schools spring up to furnish it. *All* schools depend ultimately upon some aspect of the social process for their right to exist.

Schools are not, however, *mere* tools, mere passive instruments for the registration and expression of an external social will. They themselves represent a part of the general activity of society, one of its institutions, one mode of expression of the social consciousness. According to this conception it is not the function of educational processes simply to register social progress. Educational forces may quite legitimately take an active and conscious part in the general struggle upward.

If society be conceived as organized, in part at least, into various institutions, each with a more or less distinct function, then it is easy to see that progress, whatever it may be, is largely a resultant of the activities of the various institutions, one of the ways in which these institutions perform their respective functions. There is not, in other words, any *particular* institution or portion of society which is alone responsible for the progress of society as a whole. *Each* part must contribute its impulse, its share to the larger movement. It should

be the business of each part of the social body consciously and systematically to extend and to develop its particular function. It is thus that the church expands and presses into new and wider fields of service; so with organized charities, systems of exchange and of communication. All these phases of social activity are constantly developing new aspects, new modes of expression. The public press is a particularly good illustration of this development and expansion of a given function. In addition to merely printing and circulating an account of the events of the day, it frequently undertakes to make original investigations in all sorts of vital social and political problems and give its findings to the public. In various ways this publicity function has expanded, until its points of contact with society as a whole far surpass anything of which the first publishers ever dreamed.

It is, in fact, only as a social agent keeps dynamic and progressive that it can maintain itself in a progressive society, for the work which such a society needs to have done is, in the nature of the case, growing in complexity, and either old agents must be able to handle it or new means of meeting the need must be developed.

Now, with reference to the school, its function is preëminently that of instruction and training, and not only is there a greater social need than ever before for just this type of service, but also it is more than ever the business of the school to study current situations with reference to new ways of teaching and training, not merely children, but even adults. The educational forces of the country must systematically study and work out new avenues and modes of expressing the teaching function. That the burden of this development will depend largely upon those engaged in educational work is natural, because they above all should be in touch with the general social need of instruction. They, best of all, should be able to see wherein the work of the schools can be profitably extended so as to perform various social services as yet unprovided for.

This presupposes an extension of the teaching function far beyond that which first appeared necessary in primitive social groups. But present-day society is vastly more complex, and why should not this aspect of its activity be correspondingly broader? And why should not those charged with the duties of instruction study to extend their work still further, to exploit, as it were, their function in the social

group? Only as every element of the social plexus is dynamic, or reaching out for fuller and more complex modes of expression, can there be genuine social progress. There is, in fact, no logical reason why the educational forces of a community should not be constantly striving to extend their activities on every side as far as they have resources and as far as they do not find the field preëmpted by other forces. There is really no intrinsic limit to the development of any function except the limit of resources and the possible preëmption of the field by other social agencies.

There is another aspect of the problem of the relation of education to progress which should not be neglected by the student who wishes to go into the matter thoroughly. Our attention has thus far been fixed upon the school's opportunity to influence progress through the *material* or *content* which it selects and impresses upon the learner. The further question arises as to whether the *way* in which a thing is taught as well as the thing itself has any significance for progress; that is, whether it may be taught so as to cultivate individuality and an eager progressive spirit in the learner, or whether it serves rather to obliterate the child's native spontaneity and adjust him to more or less predetermined external conditions. To answer this question requires some consideration of the familiar concept of the ideal of social progress as some sort of adjustment to a particular kind of environment.

Many thinkers on sociological subjects have followed the lead of Herbert Spencer, who, in his *Data of Ethics*, defines the goal of human progress as complete conformity or adaptation to environment. Thus, a recent writer defines social progress as "the adaptation of society to a wider and more universal environment. The ideal of human progress is apparently adaptation to a perfectly universal environment, such an adaptation as shall harmonize all factors whether internal or external, present or remote, in the life of humanity."[1]

As these concepts are further defined and discussed, they lose some of their vagueness. Taken, however, on their face value, they seem to imply an external, inflexible, physical and social order to which the individual can do nothing more than conform, or adjust, himself. There might be some question as to whether in this and in many other

[1] Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, p. 314.

formulations of the meaning of progress, there is not too great stress placed upon adaptation to environment. It depends, of course, to a large extent upon what is meant by environment. The conceptions both of adaptation and of environment have come into social and educational science from biology. In biology the term "environment" has undoubtedly been taken to mean a relatively fixed set of external conditions to which living forms must conform or perish. The environment is like an unyielding Procrustean bed on which all surviving forms must succeed in stretching themselves. The environment demands speed of the deer, and speed it must gain, or perish. It may be properly said that the deer thus becomes adjusted to its environment.

It is true that for the lower forms of life the environment is practically fixed and fairly simple. But the higher we rise in the scale of being, the more complex and plastic it becomes, the more subtle are the ways in which it affects the organism. With growing complexity it becomes more plastic, more subject to change. Moreover, the higher forms of life on which this complex environment plays become increasingly capable of modifying it, of adjusting it to themselves as well as themselves to it. We may find clear beginnings of this adjustment of the environment to the animal form in the animal series below man. Whenever a bird builds a nest for its eggs, instead of laying its eggs on the ground, it is as truly a utilizing of environment, an adaptation of it to the bird's needs as it is an adaptation of the bird to the environment. The bird is no longer at the mercy of the elements. The mud, sticks, straw, strings, become plastic at its deft touch and are servants instead of unyielding masters.

The higher the position in the scale of life, the greater and more manifest becomes the capacity of the living form to adjust the environment to itself. The human species, of course, affords the most conspicuous examples of this capacity. We do not, to be sure, lose sight of many and great adaptations, on the part of man himself, but if man's adaptations of his environment to his unfolding needs have not been as great as the changes he himself has been forced to undergo, they at least cannot be ignored. The whole process of civilization has been a gradual freeing of mankind from subserviency to brute natural conditions. More and more has it been possible to readjust and reshape these conditions until, as is sometimes said, civilized man lives

in a highly artificial environment. Of course, this is not an environment which any one individual has constructed. It is the result of the collective activity of many generations, but it is none the less artificial and none the less an adjustment of nature to meet man's needs. The foods, the clothing, the shelter, of the modern man are all the results of his determination to change his environment rather than himself. It is true that in all this utilization and adjustment of the forces and materials of nature to himself there has been a measure of adaptation on man's part to the conditions imposed by nature. The cultivation of the soil for a crop of grain is both adaptation of and adaptation to the conditions of nature. The building of a dam that we may render the power of the water available to run a mill is making nature serve us, but this is attained through submitting to certain conditions imposed by nature. We have to-day harnessed some of the exhaustless supplies of electrical energy which have been present everywhere in nature since the beginning of time. In this we have made nature serve us, but we have also had to meet conditions imposed by nature, among others the construction of a certain type of machine, the dynamo. In making dynamos and building power houses we are in a real sense adjusting ourselves to our environment, but this concession on our part has resulted in even greater concessions to us on the part of our environment.

We may, then, properly think of the environment as well as the man as plastic, changing quantities. The environment is not the whole world outside of the individual's own body. It is actually only an infinitesimal portion of this world, that limited portion which we have to contend with in our effort to realize some impulse or desire. It is that plexus of materials and forces, whether mechanical, vegetable, animal or human, which we must either readjust so that it will coöperate with us or at least not obstruct us in our purposes or with reference to which we must reconstruct our purposes, and be content to carry them out in some modified form, that forms the real environment.

Human evolution may then, from one point of view, be regarded as a progressive realization of purposes through gradually increasing skill in detecting the environmental materials and forces which can be turned to account in their realization.

The whole situation involved in progress is complicated and subtle

in the highest degree. It defies, in fact, really adequate statement. We cannot describe one aspect of it without apparently doing some other aspect of it injustice. With due recognition of this fact, we may at least say that no concept of social progress based merely on the biological idea of adjustment or adaptation to a fixed environment is adequate or even true. For any one individual, life may seem to involve more adjustment than utilization — and yet, if progress, on the whole, consists in utilizing as well as adjusting, it is clear that a progressive society must have a good proportion of individuals who are capable of large initiative, who shape conditions to suit their purposes rather than merely suit their purposes to conditions.

The fundamental condition of human progress is the human quality of eagerness, of impulse, of reaching out for something as yet unattained. This lies at the basis of all social unrest and consequent social changes. It is the quality possessed by those individuals and races which have been endlessly experimenting, trying to do things in new ways, prying into the hidden things of nature, exploring with avidity the surface of the globe and discovering its character and resources. The races which have been most active in these ways are said to be the progressive races. Not that mere change means progress. It may as easily be retrogression. But, unless there is an impulse to strike out into new paths, to try new things, there can be little or no movement either one way or the other.

A certain amount of progress is possible among peoples which possess little initiative, but it is dependent upon the slow action of natural selection, and it is questionable whether a really high social state could be attained in any such manner. The savage races of the present day are recognized as essentially unprogressive. What little they have attained to has probably come through blind natural selection. But natural selection unaided does not seem to be able to do more than produce an adaptation little different from that of the brute to the physical environment. Here is *mere* adaptation without initiative, without that divine discontent which *changes* the environment to suit one's needs instead of submitting to it. The unclothed body of the central Australian has become inured to the extremes of cold and heat to which it has been subjected for unknown generations. His stomach has become adjusted to the food conditions. Sometimes

nature furnishes abundant food, sometimes almost none. He is able to live under conditions which impose on him alternate gorging and deprivation. This remarkable endurance of the Australian has been gradually wrought out by natural selection. Those who could not conform perished by inexorable law. The central Australians, therefore, present a remarkable degree of adaptation to environment. At their hands natural conditions have suffered a minimum of alteration. They have not tried to make clothes or to construct any adequate shelter or to till the soil. They eat the roots, fruits, game and even the grubs and insects that nature provides. They have simply taken things as they are and have learned to endure them, except that endurance is not the proper word from their point of view, for they know nothing else and are therefore quite content.

Similar and more or less striking illustrations are afforded by all other nonprogressive races. There is no question but that the stage of culture they have reached is almost purely the result of natural selection. When we turn to the so-called progressive races, we find large numbers who simply conform to conditions imposed upon them. There are always a greater or less number, however, who are restive under all conditions; they are always reaching out and apparently seeking for fuller and fuller expression of themselves.

The qualities of perseverance, energy, curiosity, eagerness for experiment and exploration, in a word, initiative, are probably native ones, the peculiar endowments of certain races. It seems likely that the beginnings of the qualities may be attributed to natural selection. But one of the important fields of operation of these qualities has been that of the training of children. In other words, the progressive qualities, themselves largely beyond our control, set in operation forces and modes of activity which may and do contribute greatly to social improvement.

The betterment and the increased efficiency of human life are in a large measure dependent upon conscious purpose. Man lifts himself by giving thought thereto, and not the least effective means of taking thought is through education.

Even in the lowest savage societies, education, while not making for progress, performs, as we have seen, an important function. It at least helps maintain the tribe in its existing culture. In various crude

ways the accomplishments of the fathers are impressed upon the children. There is no thought or desire that the children shall improve upon the ways of the fathers. In fact, in all savage types of education, impulses to vary a jot or tittle from the pattern are severely repressed. The keynote of their training is unquestioning imitation. But even at this level, education preserves that which has been attained, though it does not make for higher levels of efficiency.

It is somewhat surprising at first thought to find this same emphasis upon imitation in the education of the progressive races. The chief concern of adult society seems to be that the children should spend most of their time acquiring the wisdom and skill of the past. We should not criticize this concern if it had coupled with it a clearer recognition that this is only the beginning of the process, not an end in itself but a means to an end. The most precious heritage of progressive races is personal initiative, and their most serious problem is how to conserve and direct this initiative wisely. Undirected, it is of no more value than unconfined steam; it is mere vaporing.

The child studies certain aspects of the culture of past generations, not merely to absorb it or to become, as it were, a receptacle in which to preserve that culture intact, as the arts and crafts of other times are preserved in museums for the inspection of the curious. He studies rather that he may use, that he may have better tools for the expression of his initiative, that his impulses may avoid past failures and take advantage of past successes.

The emphasis in a truly progressive society must then be upon a wise cultivation of the individual capacities of the child for initiative rather than upon his simply acquiring in passive fashion the culture of the past. This is a broad generalization which must be interpreted with due recognition of varying conditions. Children vary in their individual capacity for initiative. Some persons will attain the most useful lives when they simply follow unswervingly in the steps of their fathers. Moreover, the importance of cultivating initiative in progressive societies does not rest upon the narrow conception of education as merely for the making of great leaders. It is true, however, that the qualities of leadership, for which there is such a large place in the modern world, will be fostered and developed by such a type of education. But while all cannot be leaders in various lines of industrial, professional,

political and social activity, all do need, in wider or narrower spheres, the capacity of self-direction and the alertness to meet and take advantage of new conditions. A part of the poverty and crime of modern society is due to the rapid changes in the conditions of life. The pauper is not merely the inefficient one; he is often one who was by his training fitted or adjusted to a social and industrial order which had changed ere he had established himself. He could not readjust himself to fit the new conditions, and hence dropped down into the ranks of the incapable.

Here we see the great objection to the ideal of education as adjustment, especially if adjustment is taken to refer to a fixed social order.[1] A fixed social order is a characteristic of savagery rather than of civilization. It certainly does not exist amongst ourselves. A child trained for a particular type of service in modern society will almost surely find conditions so altered when he comes to try his hand that unless he possesses a large endowment of initiative and originality he will have great difficulty in fitting in. That so large a proportion of our young men and women *do* succeed in life is an evidence of their large native endowment along these lines. It may be safely said that modern school education does little to cultivate this which is not merely so essential to individual success in present-day society, but which is also a fundamental condition of human progress.

The forces of education fall far short of being as effective for progress as they might be. They are adjusted to an older and less progressive social order. Hence, it is natural that it should lay relatively great emphasis upon discipline, conformity to type, adjustment to environment, as ends in themselves instead of as tools to the attainment of other things.

A common statement of the end of education as social efficiency attains its fullest meaning when it is recognized that this depends quite largely upon the development of individuality and initiative in the school child under the guidance of social ideals and in connection with daily opportunities for social service. Of course an uncontrolled development of these qualities would be a social curse rather than a

[1] To say that the object of education is to adjust the child to a progressive society is simply another way of saying that initiative must be emphasized. The term "adjustment" is here misleading and should be dropped.

blessing. We no longer believe in the unmitigated doctrine of *laissez-faire* in social life. The greatest good for the group is not attained by permitting each individual to cultivate all his native endowments of initiative for himself alone. In emphasizing the place of initiative in the education of a progressive society, we have constantly in mind, then, the absolute requirement that it shall, throughout, be dominated by ideals of social responsibility and social service.

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CHAPTER XII

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL REFORM

We are here concerned with the problem of social reform in so far as it can be dealt with by educational means, and from one point of view this may be said to include the whole problem. The reformation of the individual, especially the youthful individual, is more and more recognized as a legitimate task for education in its larger sense. Schooling, in other words, may have as its object, not merely the development and instruction of the normal child, it may also succeed to a most surprising degree in making over the victims of perverted development. In a broad sense, all agencies of social reform are educational agencies; that is, they are all concerned with effecting changes of some sort in people. The betterment of the individual physically, intellectually or morally is the starting point for all social improvement.

The educational agencies which make for reform, if they are completely enumerated, are of the most diverse character, and they may be directed toward the most diverse classes of people. Among these educational agencies must be included such activities as campaigns for parks and playgrounds, for school gardens, for medical inspection of schools and scholars, and even the various activities directed toward social amelioration in general. These, also, are educational in some sense. They aim primarily to effect changes in the attitudes and opinions of people, usually adults. Their imagination has to be quickened as to existing abuses; their ideas have to be clarified; their consciences may need to be developed. All such undertakings are, therefore, essentially educational in their nature, even though they lie outside the work of the school as such. More and more is it seen that social reforms of every type must depend for their success upon an antecedent education of a portion of the people concerned that they may really demand the reform suggested.

In this section, however, we may confine ourselves to a narrower

aspect of education and social reform, that which is concerned with the delinquent child. The proper care of the delinquent child is a question which belongs to the social aspects of education in a twofold degree: First, the *end* to be attained through caring for the delinquent is *social betterment* through diminishing the number of individuals in each generation with criminal or anti-social tendencies; secondly, the *means* to this end is largely a more thoroughly socialized form of education than that which prevails for normal children. It is with this latter aspect, the *means*, that we are here especially concerned.

Broadly speaking, the reform of the delinquent child depends in most cases upon two factors — first, the removal or the correction of physical defects, and secondly, upon placing him in a thoroughly normal and healthful social environment which will stimulate growth in the right directions. Restraints and punishments of various sorts, necessary though they may be at times, are purely incidental and temporary, and are not to be regarded as far-reaching and generally valuable means of improving character.

The successful workers with juvenile delinquents quite properly assume that such boys and girls are usually not really "bad," but are rather on the road to badness through unfavorable conditions, either physical or social. Regarding unfavorable physical conditions, the words of the Superintendent of the Lyman School, Massachusetts, are significant: "I am coming to believe that much delinquency is due to low vitality that may be caused by various organic difficulties. In the future, I am convinced that the medical and physical side of the work should be more and more emphasized. I attach much importance to the work of the physician in removing tonsils and adenoids, in giving a careful examination of the eyes and ears, and in giving especial care to any manifested organic troubles, such as the difficulties of the heart, lungs, and digestive organs. The work of the dentist [also] cannot be too highly recognized."[1] This attention to the physical condition of even the normal child is to-day regarded as a legitimate part of the work of the school, and it may thus be included among the ways in which the school may make for social reform.

Delinquency is not, however, connected solely with physical defects, and, whether it is or not, it at least shows itself in some form of mal-

[1] Sixteenth Annual Report, 1910, p. 28.

adjustment to social conditions. It is here that the second phase of the problem appears, and it is one of the serious problems of all civilized peoples. Adult civilized society, even at its best, presents many conditions which are unfavorable to the normal development of boys and girls. Such society, in its worse phases, is, of course, still more detrimental to normal growth. Most boys and girls are born with certain propensities or impulses to activity of various sorts, which are quite healthful and upon the satisfaction of which normal growth depends. Among these are love of physical activity, of adventure, curiosity, and comradeship. These impulses and many others may be summarized in the phrase "superabundance of spirits." Every student of child life knows that these spirits are the raw material of character, and that they must have adequate and legitimate means of expression. Now it is certain that, with the increasing urbanization of the population, the opportunities for the normal expression of childhood impulses are progressively diminished, and this is true in even the best social communities. The interests of child and adult are different, and when these interests clash, for example, on the question of who may use the streets, the child usually has to give way to the adult. The outcome is almost inevitable; namely, perverted or exaggerated expression of impulses.

Thus the boy of well-to-do parents in the city seldom has sufficient opportunity for all the free, vigorous play which he needs. He can seldom go out in quest of the adventure he craves without infringing upon some social conventionality of adulthood. To make matters worse, he has little regular work outside of school, and even that may engage his energies only indifferently. Interest in work and a definite responsibility for something worth while to himself and to others are important factors in restraining the adult from immorality. The social demands made upon the boy usually lack these very character-forming elements. Society expects the boy to "just grow," failing to see that there are certain conditions of growth which are absolutely essential, and that society must furnish these conditions.

There are two general ways of offsetting the unnatural conditions of child life which modern society tends to develop. On the one hand, adequate opportunities for play and healthful work must be furnished to the city boy. This is to-day accomplished more and more through the supervised public playground and the school garden. Through

such means the normal boy is kept sound, and the delinquent boy is frequently restored to soundness. The juvenile court supplements the work of the playground and of the school garden by giving the supposedly bad child a fairer chance.

In the second place, the delinquent child may be transferred to an environment especially adjusted to his needs, to a school, for example, where he can be subjected to those needful influences which were lacking in his home environment. In general, these schools probably present exaggerated conditions from the point of view of the normal child. In the Junior Republic, for instance, great stress is placed upon work, and each youth is completely responsible for his own economic support. If the delinquent boy is physically sound (as he must be if admitted to the Junior Republic) there is nothing which will straighten him out more effectively or speedily than just such responsibility. The reformatory influence of work, of economic interests and of corporate responsibility as illustrated in this school should receive the careful attention of the student at this point.

It should also be noted that it is not only work and responsibility that the youth needs, but also the right sort of restraining public opinion and the right sort of social ideals. The possibility of building up such a social atmosphere and its character-forming power are admirably illustrated in the work of the Junior Republic. Whatever the limitations in the scope of this school, — and it is confessedly not adapted to all types of delinquents, — it is at least a fine illustration of the dependence of reform upon an adjustment of social relationships. Aside from the correction of physical defects, it would seem that the problem of reforming the wayward child is really a problem of reforming social conditions so that his normal self may have a chance to develop.

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PART II

INTERNAL SOCIAL ASPECTS OF EDUCATION

CHAPTER XIII

THE GENERAL NATURE OF SOCIAL LIFE

The General Nature of Social Life

EDUCATION is in a double sense, as we have seen, a social process. We have thus far devoted ourselves to its larger or external relations. We have regarded it as one of the special functions of the great social complex in which it exists. We turn now to what may be called its internal social aspects, those aspects which grow out of the fact that the school is itself a little society. This corporate life of the school has definite and important bearings upon the process of learning, both in its particular and in its general aspects. In this section we shall consider, however, not merely the social life of the school and its bearings upon education, but certain aspects of the larger problem of the relation of society to the individual.

It is important, before attempting to study the educational phases, to have some general understanding of the nature of social life itself.

Human society is not composed of individuals merely massed together as shot or pebbles may be piled up. It is a peculiarly intricate organization, and people are what they are because they were born into this organization and have grown up in it. Only in recent times has there been any appreciation of what society really is or how the individual person is related to it. When philosophers first began to think of these things, they tended to regard the human being as first of all an independent individual and of social relations as an afterthought, an expedient imposed upon men who were originally free from all such restraints. Thus Hobbes and Rousseau conceived of

society as a voluntary compact into which men entered for mutual protection. The happiest state was that in which each lived to himself alone, absolutely unfettered by social bonds of any sort. But men were inevitably thrown together, and society represents the outcome of a conscious attempt of people to adjust themselves to one another. It has involved also the voluntary surrender of many natural privileges or rights for the sake of the advantages of combined action in offense and defense.

In time it was seen by social philosophers that the voluntary contract theory did not accurately describe the facts. Society is an instinctive affair extending far back into the lower stages of animal life. Men have probably never lived alone, but rather always in groups. The fundamental traits of human personality have been developed, or built up, through human association, not in some supposedly prior individualistic state of being. Hence, man is fundamentally a social being. Every shred and fiber of his being is a resultant of his manifold and subtle relations with other people. He is not part individual and part social in his nature, he is rather *all* social. Hence, he has not, as a member of society, had to give up or suppress purely individualistic impulses. The contrast is not between the individual and society but between different kinds of society, different sorts of social impulses.

The theory that society is a conscious compact made between those who were naturally individualistic or antisocial thus gave way to the theory of society as an organism after the analogy of the biological organism, the individuals corresponding to the cells of the animal body, and the various social functions of protection, production, distribution and so forth, corresponding to such physiological functions as seeing, eating, digestion, circulation and respiration. This comparison of society to an organism is not without significance. It is certainly truer to some facts than was the "contract theory." It goes, however, to the opposite extreme, and through the analogy of the relation of the single cell to the whole animal body completely subordinates the individual to society. To hold that each individual is through and through a social being is not equivalent to saying that he has no worth of his own as an individual. He has a personal life quite other than that of the single cell, even though that life is formed by

mutual action and reaction with other human beings. In other words, individuality is quite as real a fact as society; in no sense can we consider it as finally subordinate to a larger life in the way that the cell is subordinate to the life of the animal. These considerations have led to a still different conception; namely, that it is an *organization* rather than an *organism*. It is an organization of individuals intimately bound together in all they think and do and yet each possessed of a life of his own. No individual exists merely for the good of society. Each one has his own desires and purposes that demand satisfaction. They demand satisfaction, however, not as purely separate affairs, but in organic relation with the desires and purposes of other people.

It is not here our purpose, however, to enter into a detailed study of social processes nor of the relation of the individual to society, but rather to get clearly defined the meaning of *social* or *corporate* life as a basis for the study of the social life of the school. The best illustrations of true corporate life are to be found in relatively small groups of people. These " primary groups " as Cooley calls them are the real units of society. In them we find the most adequate expression of human association. Inasmuch as a full appreciation of the nature of the life of the primary group is fundamental to the study of the social life of the school, extracts from Cooley's admirable discussion in his *Social Organization* are here reprinted. The student's first endeavor should be to gain a clear concept of the " primary groups " as *actual* existences in which he daily participates. He should find many examples of his own to illustrate the points made in the discussion.

Primary Groups and Primary Ideals

By primary groups I mean those characterized by intimate face-to-face association and coöperation. They are primary in several senses, but chiefly in that they are fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual. The result of intimate association, psychologically, is a certain fusion of individuals in a common whole, so that one's very self, for many purposes at least, is the common life and purpose of the group. Perhaps the simplest way of describing this wholeness is by saying that it is a " we "; it involves the sort of sympathy and mutual identification for which " we " is the natural

expression. One lives in the feeling of the whole and finds the chief aims of his will in that feeling.

It is not to be supposed that the unity of the primary group is one of mere harmony and love. It is always a differentiated and usually a competitive unity, admitting of self-assertion and various appropriative passions; but these passions are socialized by sympathy, and come, or tend to come, under the discipline of a common spirit. The individual will be ambitious, but the chief object of his ambition will be some desired place in the thought of the others, and he will feel allegiance to common standards of service and fair play. So the boy will dispute with his fellows a place on the team, but above such disputes will place the common glory of his class and school.

The most important spheres of this intimate association and cooperation — though by no means the only ones — are the family, the play group of children, and the neighborhood or community group of elders. These are practically universal, belonging to all times and all stages of development, and are accordingly a chief basis of what is universal in human nature and human ideals. The best comparative studies of the family, such as those of Westermarck or Howard, show it to us as not only a universal institution, but as more alike the world over than the exaggeration of exceptional customs by an earlier school had led us to suppose. Nor can any one doubt the general prevalence of play groups among children or of informal assemblies of various kinds among their elders. Such association is clearly the nursery of human nature in the world about us, and there is no apparent reason to suppose that the case has anywhere or at any time been essentially different.

As regards play, I might, were it not a matter of common observation, multiply illustrations of the universality and spontaneity of the group discussion and coöperation to which it gives rise. The general fact is that children, especially boys after about their twelfth year, live in fellowships in which their sympathy, ambition and honor are engaged even more, often, than they are in the family. Most of us can recall examples of the endurance by boys of injustice and even cruelty, rather than appeal from their fellows to parents or teachers — as, for instance, in the hazing so prevalent at schools, and so difficult, for this very reason, to repress. And how elaborate the discussion, how cogent the public opinion, how hot the ambitions in these fellowships.

Nor is this facility of juvenile association, as is sometimes supposed, a trait peculiar to English and American boys; since experience among our immigrant population seems to show that the offspring of the more restrictive civilizations of the continent of Europe form self-governing play groups with almost equal readiness. Thus Miss Jane Addams, after pointing out that the "gang" is almost universal,

speaks of the interminable discussion which every detail of the gang's activity receives, remarking that "in these social folk-motes, so to speak, the young citizen learns to act upon his own determination."

Of the neighborhood group it may be said, in general, that from the time men formed permanent settlements upon the land, down, at least, to the rise of modern industrial cities, it has played a main part in the primary, heart-to-heart life of the people. Among our Teutonic forefathers the village community was apparently the chief sphere of sympathy and mutual aid for the commons all through the "dark" and middle ages, and for many purposes it remains so in rural districts at the present day. In some countries we still find it with all its ancient vitality, notably in Russia, where the mir, or self-governing village group, is the main theater of life, along with the family, for perhaps fifty millions of peasants.

In our own life the intimacy of the neighborhood has been broken up by the growth of the intricate mesh of wider contacts which leaves us strangers to people who live in the same house. And even in the country the same principle is at work, though less obviously, diminishing our economic and spiritual community with our neighbors. How far this change is a healthy development, and how far a disease, is perhaps still uncertain.

Besides these almost universal kinds of primary association, there are many others whose form depends upon the particular state of civilization, the only essential thing, as I have said, being a certain intimacy and fusion of personalities. In our own society, being little bound by place, people easily form clubs, fraternal societies and the like, based on congeniality, which may give rise to real intimacy. Many such relations are formed at school and college, and among men and women brought together in the first instance by their occupations — as workmen in the same trade, or the like. Where there is a little common interest and activity, kindness grows like weeds by the roadside.

But the fact that the family and neighborhood groups are ascendant in the open and plastic time of childhood makes them even now incomparably more influential than all the rest.

Primary groups are primary in the sense that they give the individual the earliest and completest experience of social unity, and also in the sense that they do not change in the same degree as more elaborate relations, but form a comparatively permanent source out of which the latter are ever springing. Of course they are not independent of the larger society, but to some extent reflect its spirit; as the German family and the German school bear somewhat distinctly the print of German militarism. But this, after all, is like the tide setting back into creeks, and does not commonly go very far. Among the

German, and still more among the Russian, peasantry are found habits of free coöperation and discussion almost uninfluenced by the character of the state; and it is a familiar and well-supported view that the village commune, self-governing as regards local affairs and habituated to discussion, is a very widespread institution in settled communities, and the continuator of a similar autonomy previously existing in the clan. "It is man who makes monarchies and establishes republics, but the commune seems to come directly from the hand of God." . . .

These groups, then, are springs of life, not only for the individual but for social institutions. They are only in part molded by special traditions, and, in larger degree, express a universal nature. The religion or government of other civilizations may seem alien to us, but the children or the family group wear the common life, and with them we can always make ourselves at home. . . .

The view here maintained is that human nature is not something existing separately in the individual, but a *group nature or primary phase of society*, a relatively simple and general condition of the social mind. It is something more, on the one hand, than the mere instinct that is born in us — though that enters into it — and something less, on the other, than the more elaborate development of ideas and sentiments that makes up institutions. It is the nature which is developed and expressed in those simple, face-to-face groups that are somewhat alike in all societies; groups of the family, the playground and the neighborhood. In the essential similarity of these is to be found the basis, in experience, for similar ideas and sentiments in the human mind. In these, everywhere, human nature comes into existence. Man does not have it at birth, he cannot acquire it except through fellowship, and it decays in isolation. . . .

Life in the primary groups gives rise to social ideals which, as they spring from similar experiences, have much in common throughout the human race. And these naturally become the motive and test of social progress. Under all systems men strive, however blindly, to realize objects suggested by the familiar experience of primary association.

Where do we get our notions of love, freedom, justice and the like which we are ever applying to social institutions? Not from abstract philosophy, surely, but from the actual life of simple and widespread forms of society, like the family or the play group. In these relations mankind realizes itself, gratifies its primary needs, in a fairly satisfactory manner, and from the experience forms standards of what it is to expect from more elaborate association. Since groups of this sort are never obliterated from human experience, but flourish more or less under all kinds of institutions, they remain an enduring criterion by which the latter are ultimately judged.

Of course these simpler relations are not uniform for all societies, but vary considerably with race, with the general state of civilization and with the particular sort of institutions that may prevail. The primary groups themselves are subject to improvement and decay, and need to be watched and cherished with a very special care.

Neither is it claimed that, at the best, they realize ideal conditions; only that they approach them more nearly than anything else in general experience, and so form the practical basis on which higher imaginations are built. They are not always pleasant or righteous, but they almost always contain elements from which ideals of pleasantness and righteousness may be formed.

The ideal that grows up in familiar association may be said to be a part of human nature itself. In its most general form it is that of a moral whole or community wherein individual minds are merged and the higher capacities of the members find total and adequate expression. And it grows up because familiar association fills our minds with imaginations of the thought and feeling of other members of the group, and of the group as a whole, so that, for many purposes, we really make them a part of ourselves and identify our self-feeling with them.

Children and savages do not formulate any such ideal, but they have it nevertheless; they see it; they see themselves and their fellows as an invisible though various "we," and they desire this "we" to be harmonious, happy and successful. How heartily one may merge himself in the family and in the fellowships of youth is perhaps within the experience of all of us; and we come to feel that the same spirit should extend to our country, our race, our world. "All the abuses which are the objects of reform . . . are unconsciously amended in the intercourse of friends."

A congenial family is the immemorial type of moral unity, and source of many of the terms — such as brotherhood, kindness and the like — which describe it. The members become merged by intimate association into a whole wherein each age and sex participates in its own way. Each lives in imaginative contact with the minds of the others, and finds in them the dwelling place of his social self, of his affections, ambitions, resentments and standards of right and wrong. Without uniformity, there is yet unity, a free, pleasant, wholesome, fruitful, common life.

As to the playground, Mr. Joseph Lee, in an excellent paper on "Play as a School of the Citizen," gives the following account of the merging of the one in the whole that may be learned from sport. The boy, he says, "is deeply participating in a common purpose. The team and the plays that it executes are present in a very vivid manner to his consciousness. His conscious individuality is more thoroughly lost in the sense of membership than perhaps it ever becomes in any

other way. So that the sheer experience of citizenship in its simplest and essential form — of the sharing in a public consciousness, of having the social organization present as a controlling ideal in your heart — is very intense. . . .

"Along with the sense of the team as a mechanical instrument, unseparated from it in the boy's mind, is the consciousness of it as the embodiment of a common purpose. There is in team play a very intimate experience of the ways in which such a purpose is built up and made effective. You feel, though without analysis, the subtle ways in which a strong character breaks out the road ahead and gives confidence to the rest to follow; how the creative power of one ardent imagination, bravely sustained, makes possible the putting through of the play as he conceives it. You feel to the marrow of your bones how each loyal member contributes to the salvation of all the others by holding the conception of the whole play so firmly in his mind as to enable them to hold it, and to participate in his single-minded determination to see it carried out. You have intimate experience of the ways in which individual members contribute to the team and of how the team, in turn, builds up their spiritual nature. . . .

"And the team is not only an extension of the player's consciousness; it is a part of his personality. His participation has deepened from coöperation to membership. Not only is he now a part of the team, but the team is a part of him."

Moral unity, as this illustration implies, admits and rewards strenuous ambition, but this ambition must either be for the success of the group, or at least not inconsistent with that. The fullest self-realization will belong to the one who embraces in a passionate self-feeling the aims of the fellowship, and spends his life in fighting for their attainment.

The ideal of moral unity I take to be the mother, as it were, of all social ideals.

It is, then, not my aim to depreciate the self-assertive passions. I believe that they are fierce, inextinguishable, indispensable. Competition and the survival of the fittest are as righteous as kindness and coöperation, and not necessarily opposed to them; an adequate view will embrace and harmonize these diverse aspects. The point I wish particularly to bring out in this chapter is that the normal self is molded in primary groups to be a social self whose ambitions are formed by the common thought of the group.

In their crudest form, such passions as lust, greed, revenge, the pride of power and the like are not, distinctively, *human* nature at all, but animal nature, and so far as we rise into the spirit of family or neighborhood association we control and subordinate them. They are rendered human only so far as they are brought under the discipline of

sympathy, and refined into sentiments, such as love, resentment and ambition. And in so far as they are thus humanized they become capable of useful function.

Take the greed of gain, for example, the ancient sin of avarice, the old wolf, as Dante says, that gets more prey than all the other beasts. The desire of possession is in itself a good thing, a phase of self-realization and a cause of social improvement. It is immoral or greedy only when it is without adequate control from sympathy, when the self-realized is a narrow self. . . .

The improvement of society does not call for any essential change in human nature, but, chiefly, for a larger and higher application of its familiar impulses. . . .

To break up the ideal of a moral whole into particular ideals is an artificial process which every thinker would probably carry out in his own way. Perhaps, however, the most salient principles are loyalty, lawfulness and freedom.

In so far as one identifies himself with a whole, loyalty to that whole is loyalty to himself; it is self-realization, something in which one cannot fail without losing self-respect. Moreover, this is a larger self, leading out into a wider and richer life, and appealing, therefore, to enthusiasm and the need of quickening ideals. One is never more human, and, as a rule, never happier, than when he is sacrificing his narrow and merely private interest to the higher call of the congenial group. And without doubt the natural genesis of this sentiment is in the intimacy of face-to-face coöperation. It is rather the rule than the exception in the family, and grows up among children and youth so fast as they learn to think and act to common ends. The team feeling described above illustrates it as well as anything.

Among the ideals inseparable from loyalty are those of truth, service and kindness, always conceived as due to the intimate group rather than to the world at large.

Truth or good faith toward other members of a fellowship is, so far as I know, a universal human ideal. It does not involve any abstract love of veracity, and is quite consistent with deception toward the outside world, being essentially "truth of intercourse" or fair dealing among intimates. There are few, even among those reckoned lawless, who will not keep faith with one who has the gift of getting near to them in spirit and making them feel that he is one of themselves. Thus Judge Lindsey of Denver has worked a revolution among the neglected boys of his city, by no other method than that of entering into the same moral whole, becoming part of a "we" with them. He awakens their sense of honor, trusts it and is almost never disappointed. When he wishes to send a boy to the reform school, the latter promises to repair to the institution at a given time, and invariably does so.

Among tramps a similar sentiment prevails. "It will be found," said a young man who had spent the summer among vagrants, "that if they are treated square, they will do the same."

The ideal of service likewise goes with the sense of unity. If there is a vital whole, the right aim of individual activity can be no other than to serve that whole. And this is not so much a theory as a feeling that will exist wherever the whole is felt. It is a poor sort of an individual that does not feel the need to devote himself to the larger purposes of the group. In our society many feel this need in youth, and express it on the playground, who never succeed in realizing it among the less intimate relations of business or professional life.

All mankind acknowledges kindness as the law of right intercourse within a social group. By communion minds are fused into a sympathetic whole, each part of which tends to share the life of all the rest, so that kindness is a common joy, and harshness a common pain. It is the simplest, most attractive and most diffused of human ideals. The golden rule springs directly from human nature.

Accordingly this ideal has been bound up with association in all past times and among all peoples; it was a matter of course that when men acted together in war, industry, devotion, sport or what not, they formed a brotherhood or friendship. It is perhaps only in modern days, along with the great and sudden differentiation of activities, that feeling has failed to keep up, and the idea of coöperation without friendship has become familiar. . . .

Every intimate group, like every individual, experiences conflicting impulses within itself, and as the individual feels the need of definite principles to shape his conduct and give him peace, so the group needs law or rule for the same purpose. It is not merely that the overstrong or the insubordinate must be restrained, but that all alike may have some definite criterion of what the good member ought to do. It is a mere fact of psychology that where a social whole exists it may be as painful to do wrong as to suffer it, — because one's own spirit is divided, — and the common need is for harmony through a law, framed in the total interest, which every one can and must obey.

This need of rules to align differentiated impulse with the good of the whole is nowhere more apparent than on the playground. . . .

No doubt every one remembers how the idea of justice is developed in children's games. There is always something to be done in which various parts are to be taken, success depending upon their efficient distribution. . . .

Freedom is that phase of social ideal which emphasizes individuality. The whole to which we belong is made up of diverse energies which enkindle one another by friction; and its vigor requires that these have play. Thus the fierce impulses of ambition and pride may

be as organic as anything else — provided they are sufficiently humanized as to their objects — and are to be interfered with only when they become destructive or oppressive. . . .

The idea of the germinal character of primary association is one that is fast making its way in education and philanthropy. As we learn that man is altogether social and never seen truly except in connection with his fellows, we fix our attention more and more on group conditions as the source, for better or worse, of personal character, and come to feel that we must work on the individual through the web of relations in which he actually lives.

The school, for instance, must form a whole with the rest of life, using the ideas generated by the latter as the starting point of its training. The public opinion and traditions of the scholars must be respected and made an ally of discipline. Children's associations should be fostered and good objects suggested for their activity. . . .

It is much the same in the country. In every village and township in the land, I suppose, there are one or more groups of predatory boys and hoydenish girls whose mischief is only the result of ill-directed energy. If each of these could receive a little sympathetic attention from kindred but wiser spirits, at least half of the crime and vice of the next generation would almost certainly be done away with.

Extracts from Chapters III and IV of *Social Organization* by C. H. Cooley. Courtesy of Charles Scribner's Sons.

TOPICS FOR STUDY

1. In what way does the conception of society as an organization differ from the conception of society as an organism?
2. Contrast present-day conceptions of the origin of society, of the nature of law, of government and of the proper function of punishment with earlier conceptions.
3. In what sense may a social group be said to have a mind, a will, habits, impulses, morals?
4. Show that moral questions are ultimately social questions.
5. LeBon's conception of a crowd. Characteristics of.
6. Compare the general notion of society suggested by LeBon with that suggested by Cooley (vide *Social Organization*). Are they mutually exclusive?
7. Difference between absolute and social standards of conduct. Cooley (*Social Organization*).
8. What is meant by the assertion that all real reform must be sympathetic? Is it possible to say that any people are chiefly given over to conscious badness? How does the answer to this question

bear on social reform? How upon the problem of dealing with the bad boy at school?

9. If we accept the view that our acts are socially determined, what becomes of individual responsibility? Can you show that it is increased rather than diminished? Why is the consciously bad man less harmful socially than the ill doers who believe in themselves? How can a person be an evil doer who acts with a "good conscience"?

10. What does Cooley mean by an "unbalanced doctrine of responsibility"? Can you see how it might affect certain school problems?

11. What conception of punishment do you get from Cooley? Work out its implications in school practice. Do you think that he would condemn corporal punishment in school? Why?

12. What are primary ideals? Show how each one is a more or less spontaneous expression of primary group life. What problems present themselves in the extension of primary ideals?

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CHAPTER XIV

THE SPONTANEOUS SOCIAL LIFE OF CHILDREN

Spontaneous Social Organizations among Children

In the preceding section the general nature of society as an organization was discussed. It was seen that this organization is spontaneous, that it is not subversive but rather conducive to individuality, and that its best examples are the primary groups, the nurseries of human nature and the basis of most of our ideals of that conduct which is regarded as human, and, hence, right.

Among the various primary groups which might be mentioned, the school stands out as having many if not all the necessary characteristics. Preliminary, however, to a study of the social nature of the school group it will be well to note some of the tendencies of children of a certain age to spontaneously develop a group or community life. These tendencies appear particularly in their group games, in the gangs of street urchins and in the various clubs which boys especially tend to form. Child life, always social, tends, when a certain age is reached, to seek expression in some more or less temporary corporate association. A study of these spontaneous social tendencies throws important light upon the nature of the corporate life which develops quite as spontaneously in the school.

As source material, extracts from Johnson's valuable study, *Rudimentary Society among Boys*, are here reprinted. The object of the author appears to have been to show how primitive usages with reference to private property, law-making judicial procedure and money are strikingly paralleled in the spontaneous activities of modern boys. Our interest in the facts recorded may be slightly different without in any way distorting them. The activities here recorded were those of a true "primary group." There was "intimate face-to-face association and coöperation," and the unity displayed was clearly not always "one of mere harmony and love."

Although this boy society developed upon a school farm, its determining features may be said to have been formed independently of the school life. It was just such a society as tends to develop quite of its own accord wherever children of a certain age are thrown together for any length of time and active interests are stimulated. The McDonogh farm afforded an arena for a wide range of activity. On the basis of this opportunity the boys developed a rudimentary social organization within which conflicting interests were adjusted and a crude justice administered. It affords an admirable illustration of certain of the "primary ideals" specified by Cooley,—for instance, these of lawfulness, of truth, of freedom and of natural right.

We are introduced through this paper to a wide and important field for inductive study; namely, the institutional activities of children. A thorough understanding of these activities in their general phases should throw much light upon the nature of the corporate life of the school, as one of their particular manifestations. Already, much valuable material has been collected, but much remains to be done. Boys left entirely to themselves form cliques, or gangs, which possess, even though on a low plane, the raw material for a higher social development. The social organization of the McDonogh School is not presented as in any sense ideal. The laws permitted the development of grave social abuses; the justice that was administered was often crude. But the group that lived there *did* show a dawning sense of lawfulness and of justice; so do all the spontaneous associations of children. The recognition of this tendency has led to many attempts on the part of adults to utilize for educative ends the instinctive social activities of boys and girls. The boys' club is a redeemed gang. It is a corporate existence in which there is just enough contact with a wise, mature mind to make it a positive character-forming agency. The boy scout movement rests upon the same basis and, for the same reasons, has great possibilities for character development. Another interesting illustration is furnished by the organization of the Toledo newsboys, described by Gunckel in *Boyville*.

All in all, the remarkable results attained by skilled workers in turning to some good the corporate tendencies of boys mark them as most important aspects of educational work, work which is thus far scarcely recognized by the agencies of public instruction.

Rudimentary Society among Boys

At the top of one of the low, fertile hills that cover much of the country to the north and west of Baltimore, stands the McDonogh School. Around it stretch the eight hundred acres of the school farm. . . .

Over these teeming eight hundred acres the "McDonogh boys" roam at will, each according to his ability striving to become a mighty hunter in the earth. During the first spring after the opening of the school, the boys found the woods abounding with birds' eggs and squirrels, which they might have for the trouble of taking. During the autumn they gathered chestnuts and walnuts and stored them away to be cracked and eaten before the big fire in the schoolroom. Whether in spring or in autumn, all who went to the labor of searching were rewarded with an abundance. When the frost had killed the green shoots and troubled the rabbits to get a living, every boy that chose to do so set traps in the swamps and ditches, and baited them with sweet-smelling apples, or more pungent and effective onions.

The ground was then regarded as the property of the community, and while, like the ancient Teutonic villager, each "McDonogh boy" took pains to exclude strangers from the *Mark*, each regarded himself with the rest as a joint owner of the harvest of nuts, and all had equal rights of hunting and trapping in the waste. As in the precursors of those Aryan villages of the East, recently studied by Phear, "land was not conceived of as property in the modern sense, or as belonging to any individual." The whole was common to them all, and every boy had a right to a portion of the fruits of the ground. . . .

Among the "McDonogh boys," as among many savage societies, the beginning of property in land is seen as "the collective ownership of the soil by groups of persons." I had almost continued the quotation to make it include the words, "groups believing or assuming that they are" united in blood relationship. But while such a statement here would be untrue, the feeling of union among the "McDonogh boys" is of a very striking intensity. They become greatly indignant, and even have a sense of wrong done them when they discover a youngster from the neighborhood trapping game upon "our farm." This sentiment they have sometimes manifested in attempts to prevent the children of the men employed on the farm from gathering eggs in the woods; and the schoolboys regard their few competitors in hunting with an aversion often put into words and sometimes into acts. . . .

This feeling of brotherhood is so deep and lasting that it might be said of the "new boy," on his admission into the McDonogh School, "*in sacra transiit.*" The feeling of the boys is well shown in their conception of their rights to the property of the school, many of them

regarding themselves as the legatees of John McDonogh, the philanthropist, who gave his fortune to Baltimore in trust for the education of poor boys. He fills the niche once occupied in the minds of their Aryan progenitors by the common ancestor, from whom all the members of the primitive community thought themselves to have sprung. For the primitive fiction of common descent they have substituted the real bond of school fellowship and the pretended bond of succession. As they sometimes express it, " McDonogh left his property to us," and the idea that any other than " McDonogh boys " have any rights over the property, they do not easily accept. This feeling is clearly displayed in their attitude toward one of the rules of the school. They are not permitted to pluck the fruit in the orchards, and some of them are honestly unable to see the justice of such a regulation. The fact that the fruit is given to them after it is gathered does not at all satisfy them. Conscientious boys have often said in my hearing that, as they owned the fruit, no one had a right to prevent them from pulling it. They are, however, debarred from carrying this idea into practice, and the truth has often been pointed out to them; so this notion is not universal among them. But as no one has interfered to dispel their belief that they have property in the nuts, eggs and squirrels, they have made this a cardinal doctrine of their politics.

With this feeling of ownership constantly in mind, the boys that entered the school at its opening went peering through the high grass of the meadows in search of bobolinks' eggs; and climbed the rough pin oaks to the nests of the hawks. The first score of urchins were able to get as much as they desired from the fields and woods; but when the school grew in numbers, and fifty adventurers had boxes of bran to be filled with zoölogical specimens, and bins each holding bushels to be stored with walnuts, the demand for these treasures began to exceed the supply. Then competition set in and disputes arose, out of which, with the aid of an apparent instinct for politics, the boys were able to bring custom and law, and a system of property which was odd and unexpected, yet orderly and intelligible. . . .

To understand their position in the line of progress, we must first see how they now gather the crop, and how they formerly harvested it. Just after midnight some morning early in October, when the first frosts of the season have loosened the grasp of the nuts upon the limbs, parties of two or three boys might be seen (if any one were sufficiently interested to leave his bed at such an untimely hour) rushing at full speed over the wet fields. When the swiftest party has reached a walnut tree, one of the number climbs up rapidly, shakes off half a bushel of nuts and scrambles down again. Then off the boys go to the next tree, where the process is repeated unless the tree is occupied by other boys doing likewise. This activity continues during play hours

until all the walnut trees on the place have been appropriated. Nut hunters coming to the tree after the first party has been there and wishing to shake the tree further are required by custom to pile up all the nuts that lie under the tree. Until this is done, the unwritten law does not permit their shaking any more nuts upon the ground. Any one that violated this provision and shook nuts from a tree before piling up those beneath, would be universally regarded as dishonest, and every boy's hand would be against him. To collect all these nuts into a pile requires no small labor, and rather than undergo this the second party will usually go off in search of another tree. Consequently the partial shaking commonly enables the boy that first climbs a tree to get possession of all its fruit.

A certain justice underlies this custom. Labor has been expended in the first shaking. If another comes and shakes more nuts to the ground before picking up those already there, the fruit of the first boy's labor will be mixed up with that of the second, and thus the first owner will lose some of his work. The moral sense of the community agrees that no part of the labor shall be lost to him that performs it, and to prevent such a result the present regulation seems effectual. In what notions, ethical or other, this practice of seizing trees was begun, we cannot now discover; but all analogies indicate that the justice of the matter was not the sole consideration. But if it is hard to discover the origin of this custom in the moral nature of the boys, we may yet see how it illustrates their views of property. Inasmuch as a tree is the property of a boy and his partners only so long as his nuts remain unpiled on the ground, and since the trees may be shaken again by any boy who chooses to pile up the nuts, it is evident that in the eyes of the boys the trees belong to all of them. The simple expedient for redistributing the trees at intervals of a year is to cause all titles to expire at the end of the harvest. A boy's right to a tree lasts no longer than a single autumn. If in all that time he does not remove his crop, and if no one else piles up the nuts and gathers the rest of the yield, still his right expires by limitation; and at the opening of the next season the first comer has a right to establish a title for himself.

It may be said that permitting each boy to seize trees as he can is hardly to be called an equitable method of redistribution, but, as I desire to establish only the fact of redistribution, this is not a valid objection. It is, however, true that efforts have been made looking toward a fair division. The keen competition for walnuts led many boys to shake trees in the middle of September, and thus to acquire a title to them long before the fruit was ripe. When baseball was still the main idea of the majority, perhaps a fortnight before the first frost (everywhere recognized as marking the ripening of the crop), the greediest or the most enterprising boys would set out to seize and shake

as many trees as possible. Having no competitors, they would be able in a few days to take possession of a whole crop of nuts. To alleviate this evil, a day in October was fixed as the date of the beginning of harvest. An assembly of the boys, where all may take part, is the body which determined and still determines the opening of the season. The meaning of this public act is evident. It was felt that the few had seized what the many owned, and to prevent the recurrence of this robbery, it was made unlawful to gather any part of the crop before all knew it was ripe. By fixing a day when the harvest should begin, the boys did what they could towards equalizing the shares of each. They at least put all upon the same footing as regards the time of gathering, and they made each boy know when he must enter upon the competition. Though not all the starters could have the inside track, all got away together.

While the community thus does what it can to give each member a fair chance, no effort has been made to equalize the industry of the competitors. The hardest workers still gather the biggest crop. The day for the opening of harvest is reckoned to begin at midnight, and the boys that are most in earnest stay awake till twelve, and then, issuing from their beds into the chilly moonlight of the October fields, they seize such trees as they desire.

The same feeling of common ownership of the woodland and the same attempt at redistribution, which appear in the custom of gathering the walnut crop, are apparent in the usages of the school on the subjects of egg gathering and squirrel hunting. As eggs grew scarce and the boys grew more numerous, those who most desired the eggs worked hardest to get them, climbing higher trees and wading through muddier swamps. As the more industrious boys saw the birds building nests over their heads, what was more natural than a desire to possess them before the laying began, and thus to acquire a title to the eggs? A boy who had spent hours in a weary search and had at last found a nest, felt that his labor gave him the right to it. Accordingly some boys began to invent ways of marking the trees in which they had found nests, and to claim ownership, not of the eggs, which were not then laid, but of the tree in which they knew the eggs would soon be brought forth. Commonly when a boy found a nest, he laid a dead limb against the trunk as a warning to others that the tree had become his, and was no longer common property, to be taken by any one passing by. Rights thus acquired were not always respected by the covetous, and eggs were so often taken from marked nests as to lead to an intolerable condition of quarreling and fighting. The community then interfered to regulate the use of the *Mark*. After much angry discussion the assembly adopted the plan of nailing upon the trees a ticket bearing the finder's name and the date of the discovery. This

ticket gave to the boy whose name it bore a right of property during the rest of that year to all the nests that might be made in that tree and to all their contents. On the last day of December all titles were to lapse, to be renewed only by the new ticket.

Before the first bluebird has laid her pale azure eggs in the leafless orchards, the egg hunters, in conformity with this statute, provide themselves with strips of paper bearing their name and the date. These tickets and some tacks they take with them whenever they go into the woods. Where a hollow limb presages the birth of a brood of squirrels, one of these labels is nailed upon the trunk beneath, and another is placed under every crow's nest building in the branches. During the year no other honest boy will take eggs or squirrels from a tree thus appropriated, and [the first discoverers] may go at leisure and collect the new-laid specimens for their cabinets or the weak-eyed pets for their pockets.

When the explorations of the boys revealed the presence of nuts, eggs and squirrels, numbers of rabbits were also discovered. Attempts were at once made upon the lives of these animals, for the purpose of adding a delicacy to the commonplace round of boarding school fare. Every boy that chose to do so made traps and set them at such spots as struck his fancy, for at the start the equal rights of all to the woods and game were fully recognized. But ownership in severalty was soon established on the ruins of the system of common property.

Clearly to understand this economic revolution, we must consider it historically. The rabbit-trapping season begins about the middle of October and ends early in December. Its opening depends upon the weather, and not, like the walnut harvest, upon the legislation of the boys. If there is an early autumn, the rabbits may be induced by the scarcity of food to enter the traps sooner than if the warm weather continues till late.

In the first autumn after the opening of the school, each boy that chose to do so made a box of planks, fitted one end with a door that would fall at the touch of a trigger, and having found a promising spot, there set his trap. The hungry rabbits were tempted with fragrant apples and appetizing onions, and a few victims were enticed within the fatal door. At that time no boy set more than half a dozen traps, and almost the whole school enjoyed the delightful anticipation of having rabbits for breakfast on some future morning.

But the spots where the rabbits can be caught on eight hundred acres are comparatively few, and hence the closeness of the traps interfered with the amount of the catch. It is a habit with rabbits to move about in well-marked paths, and the boys usually set their traps in these places. Generally a rabbit will enter the first trap in his path, and boys often complained that their traps were rendered useless by

the proximity of others. After a year or two of this unsatisfactory state of affairs, a large boy, who had set his traps rather earlier than the rest, began dropping heavy stones upon all traps set closer to his own than he thought desirable. In such a society as we are studying, a hard-fisted fellow of fifteen is a great personage, and has much the same influence as a great warrior in a primitive village. The example of this boy magnate was imitated by all who dared; and by common consent, or perhaps by common submission, a limited distance between traps was agreed on. . . .

Boy Legislation. — The legislation of the boys has been already referred to in speaking of the growth of ideas of property in nests and trees. We have seen how the school fellows fixed the date of the walnut harvest, and determined that nests should not be taken from trees marked with a ticket. No account, however, was given of the legislative body and its procedure. The former resembles, in the extent of its powers, the primitive assembly, or village council. Its origin, however, was entirely independent and not the result of any imitation. The boys have never the faintest notion that they are reproducing one of the most ancient institutions. They do what seems good in their own eyes, with no reference to the outside world, and with no intention of imitating anything belonging there. . . . Each of the assemblies is democratic and primary; each legislates; as will presently appear, each judges; each is guided by an unwritten law; each exerts itself to make as nearly as possible a fair division of the communal property; each fixes the date of the opening of harvest. The informality of the Russian Assembly is naturally exceeded amongst the schoolboys. In the Russian body, every man is so independent that the Village Elder has only the semblance of a presiding officer's authority, without the power even to call a member to order. At McDonogh no president is known. Whoever is most influential takes the lead in dispatching the business of the moment. It is not, however, necessary to break the wind of our comparison by driving it too far; all that is desired is to point out the general similarity of the Assembly at McDonogh to a typical village council.

The entire informality of the proceedings of the boys and the principles that underlie their actions are well brought out in the accounts they have given me of the passage of their more important laws. When attempts were first made at exclusive ownership of trees containing birds' nests and squirrels' dens, the community took notice of the matter. Some boys had the habit of marking a tree by laying a piece of wood at the foot, and others by writing their names upon a piece of paper and fastening this upon the bark. The conservative boys desired that no system of marking should be permitted. The debate on the question of what should be done was not held on a fixed day, or in a

settled place, or even in the presence of the whole body. School work and play were too pressing for all to gather at once. On the contrary, the subject was talked over wherever several boys came together. Traditions vary as to whether a meeting of all the boys was held to make the final test of a vote; and whether the time of voting was extended over a whole day or even several days. But whatever may have been the details, the essential facts are clearly enough described in all the accounts.

After much debate, three resolutions respectively embodying the views of the three parties were written out and pasted upon the wall of the schoolroom. The vote was then taken, and each boy signed his name beneath the proposition that he favored, where it was in full view of every one. Upon counting the signatures, a majority was found to be for permitting the placing of tickets upon trees as evidence that they were claimed by individuals. This "rule" (which is the term the boys apply to their enactments) immediately went into effect, and has ever since been a law. The decision was by most voices as it would have been at Washington or Westminster. In that lies the cardinal fact. Whether by imitation or by instinct, the boys hit upon the principle that hinges all "government by discussion."

Some years after the passage of the law providing for the ticketing of trees as a means of taking possession, it was found that labels tacked upon the trunks occasionally fell to the ground; whereupon a passer-by, although he might see the label lying at his feet, would take possession of the eggs that it was intended to protect. A strict adherence to the letter of the law is counted as righteousness among primitive peoples, and our boys are yet in the savage state of morality. In order to improve the security of property, a meeting was held at which, I understand, but few boys were present. It was agreed by them without any of the formality of a written vote, that it would thereafter be unlawful to disturb any nest where the label intended to make it could be seen lying upon the ground. After this assembly broke up, the consent of a sufficient number of other boys, who had been absent, was obtained by going about and asking them to agree to the "new rule." The informality of the passage of this statute seems to have caused no remark, and it is still part of the law. Upon its application turned an interesting cause to be hereafter described.

Some incidents seem to point to the downfall of the popular system of lawmaking. The fact that a small number of boys have sometimes agreed upon a "rule," and afterwards obtained the consent of a sufficient number of the rest to put it into operation, is a constant temptation to the stronger and more influential boys to propose laws and declare them adopted without the consent of a majority. The land monopolists take the lead in this revolutionary measure, and their course is

skillfully chosen. They are careful to make such regulations as meet with general approval. A small body of large boys may easily avoid a collision with the others and yet impose laws without the formality of consulting the rest. The next and easy step is to an oligarchical government. There are indications that before many years it will be taken, and that equality of political rights will share the fate of the equality of property.

Judicial Procedure. — Inquiries into the customs of the " McDonogh boys " cannot be carried far before one is struck with the peace and good order generally prevalent in the community. Fights between angry boys do sometimes occur, to be sure, but the belief of the authorities of the school is that the number of these combats has steadily decreased with the lengthening life of the institution. Little fellows who have not lived at the school long enough to have become imbued with the general feeling often tug and strike impotently at each other; but the older boys so seldom ask the decision of the fist that a fight between two of them is an event never to be forgotten, which tradition hands down with greater embellishment at each succeeding year. When a combat does begin, it rarely happens now that the matter at issue is connected in any way with rights of property. Insults and bullying may lead to fights, but disputes over nests or trees usually come to a peaceable end. Yet this result has not been reached by active efforts on the part of the principal and his assistants to prevent fighting, or even greatly to discourage it. No boy has ever been punished because he was the bearer of a pair of blackened eyes; and further than to prevent exhibitions of violence in their immediate presence, the teachers have not interfered with any arrangement for settling quarrels that might be made by pupils. In spite of the objections that may be offered to this official apathy by the sentimental reader, a close approach has been made among the members of a quite heterogeneous body to the desirable state of peace and good will. No control having been exercised by the faculty, the boys themselves have regulated the matter.

The custom of the school from the earliest days has been, when a fight is in progress, to form a ring of excited and vociferous spectators around the enraged pair, and to regard the struggle as a gladiatorial exhibition for the entertainment of the throng. The fighters, thus made the center of the public interest, are usually impelled by self-respect to desperate efforts; but where this is not so, the lookers-on, feeling themselves defrauded of a proper gratification, will often insist upon a continuance of the struggle until one or the other of the combatants is thoroughly beaten. Every boy, therefore, feels he must beware of entrance to a fight, and all other possible measures are usually tried before an appeal is made to force.

I should give a very incorrect impression, however, if I permitted it to be thought that the McDonogh boys never yield to ill-temper. As will presently appear, they are in possession of an effective means for settling quarrels over the title to property, but the punishment of offenders is left to the injured person and his friends. When, in the autumn of 1883, a boy from the neighborhood was detected in robbing rabbit traps, the owners of the game summarily and successively gave him a beating, without the least formality or authorization. A case has also come to my knowledge where a debtor, who had made an assignment of his property which proved insufficient to meet all demands, was trounced very soundly by an angry creditor. Another debtor had exhausted the patience of his creditors by unfulfilled promises to pay, and was plainly told by them at last that unless his debts were liquidated within two weeks, he must fight them all in succession.

While such deeds of violence stand out in the reader's mind, in the daily life of the boys they bear the same insignificant ratio to the quiet whole that the murders held up to daily horror in the press bear to the humdrum life of the world. This peaceful condition appears in a more striking light when one considers the great number of questions for dispute certain to arise in the daily life of the "McDonogh boys." He often hears discussions over the rights of the rabbit trappers to the possession of the land; he can hardly fail to weigh the arguments by which their practice is attacked and defended; and he is sure to take sides either for or against them. The perplexing questions of the advantages and disadvantages of a system of individual land holding are not the only difficulties with which his sympathies and his reason have to deal; for the working of the customs of the school frequently forces upon his notice intricate problems of right and usage. It is apparent that in the operation of the somewhat complicated system of property heretofore described, it is impossible to avoid disputes, and other causes of contention are not wanting. . . .

Disputes arising from their peculiar customs of ownership are settled by boys assembling at the place where the controversy is carried on. Most commonly this is in the play room, where they can be free from observation. When Black and Landreth found the nest of a dove in the pines, seeing no mark of prior owners upon the tree, they took the eggs and brought them to the house. As they sat in the play room with needles and straws, preparing the eggs for their cabinet, Delphey overheard their talk, and questioned them about the spot where the nest was discovered. He soon convinced himself that the nest was one that he had found but a few days before, and on which he had placed the mark of himself and his partners. When he was satisfied on that point, he at once laid claim to the eggs. Landreth and Black angrily refused to give them up, and they were soon hot in dispute. Under

the law made for such cases the question of ownership is a nice one. It is granted on both sides that if Delphey, the first finder, is to retain a good title, his label must either remain upon the trunk of the tree, or else in sight upon the ground beneath, where it has fallen by accident. If neither alternative is complied with, any subsequent finder may either take the nest or mark the tree with his own label.

By this time a knot of a dozen boys, who had been idling about, had formed around Delphey, listening intently. In a few moments he called Duvall, his partner, for confirmation, and with the utmost particularity related the circumstances in which he had found the nest. Delphey told of the route they took over the stream, through the swamp, and up the hill; and mentioned the boys they met on the way, whom he compelled to corroborate his assertions. By the time Duvall takes up the account, the ring surrounding them has become larger; perhaps twenty boys have gathered, and they listen with strained attention. He proceeds to describe the tree in which the nest was placed, and dwells with convincing minuteness upon its exact situation, upon the color of the bark, the broken limb, the knot halfway up the trunk, and the nailing of the label upon it. To all his statements it may be that his adversaries, Landreth and Black, assent, only interjecting at intervals the words: "But there wasn't any mark on the tree when we were there." The declarations of either party are addressed as much to the throng around as to their opponents, and it is evident, in the heightened color of the bystanders, in their sparkling eyes, and in their tense muscles, that to them the question is of absorbing interest. Now that the argument of the plaintiffs has been heard in full, there can be no doubt that they marked the nest as they declare; and yet there is nothing to indicate that the defendants have any intention of restoring the property.

Seeing the angry looks and threatening gestures of all the group, one who does not know the school may judge that blows will follow next, and that a general conflict is about to ensue between the partisans of the claimants. Nothing could be farther from the truth. What has occurred is but the ordinary proceeding of a very primitive court of justice. Delphey knows that Black's arms are strong, his fists hard, and his blows rapid. Landreth has no desire to risk the destruction of his treasure in a struggle where, even if he retains it, he is sure to do so at the cost of bruises and blood. As he rises angrily from his seat and pushes through the crowd, he is not seeking space in which to fight, but a witness to establish his title. This body of spectators, who seem intent upon hearing the whole matter and sifting it to the bottom, is — if the name will serve — the folkmote, the assembly of the people, met to see justice done according to law. Each boy standing in the ring around the orators knows that to-morrow he may be there to

maintain his rights before a similar body, in which the plaintiff and the defendant of to-day will alike have a voice to decide upon his claims. He has a feeling that a decision contrary to established custom, however it may accord with his momentary sympathies, will be treated as a precedent to overthrow his most cherished interests, and to prevent the operation of rules upon which he has confidently counted in every venture in which he is engaged. Every boy there is determined upon the entire preservation of the system of law upon which he has based all his hopes of filling his egg cabinet.

We have turned aside a moment from following the actions of the litigants. The clamor of voices rose louder as Landreth moved off, but it subsided somewhat as he reappeared, accompanied by Miller, on whose testimony he relied. The newcomer rapidly explained to those around him that he, too, had seen the nest on the day Landreth took it; he had examined the tree, and Delphey's mark was not upon it; he had searched the ground beneath, and could not find the label there; he would himself have carried off the find, but for the fact that he saw only a single egg, and thought it better to put his own claim mark upon the trunk, and wait till more eggs were laid; when he had intended to return and get them. It had happened, however, that during his previous search for nests he had, in marking other discoveries, used up all of his labels that he had brought with him, and he had therefore been unable to appropriate the tree at the time. It was after he had gone away, and before he could return with a label, that Landreth had found the nest and possessed himself of its contents, which had meanwhile been increased to two eggs by the industrious bird.

This evidence ended the trial. Loud cries arose from all parts of the throng. "It's Doggie's nest. It wasn't marked when he found it," said one member of the tumultuous court. "Your mark was blown away, Ruffie," exclaimed another. "It's Doggie's nest." No opposition of importance was made, and, the decision being rendered, Delphey and his partner saw their case was lost and slowly walked away. Landreth and Black, who retained the eggs, returned to their work of blowing them with straws. The making of the claim, the trial and the decision occupied less than half an hour. If not sure, this justice is at least swift.

A word may here be given to the ethical questions brought up by this decision. It was admitted by all parties that two boys had found the nest before Landreth and Black had seen it. Landreth's claims in the view of equity would have to yield to Delphey's, who not only found the nest but marked it, and who, in so far as prior discovery gives any rights, clearly had them all. Landreth's title rested upon a purely technical ground. Yet, with a characteristic analogy to primitive habits of thought, it was considered that the perfect title was

obtained by a literal fulfillment of the words of the law, by an exact compliance with its minutest provisions. The law provided that no one should take a nest when the mark was on the trunk beneath, or in sight upon the ground. As it had been proved by Miller's testimony that Landreth could not have seen Delphey's label, Delphey's rights vanished.

There can be little doubt that the negligent driving of a tack was all that made Landreth the better owner than Delphey, and that Landreth was perfectly aware of this fact. When the suitors and judges were questioned as to why such a decision was given, the only reply to be obtained was, "That's the rule." Like Shylock, Landreth might have said: "I stand here for law," and his determination was to maintain to the full every legal privilege. The idea that the law might give advantages, the use of which morality could not sanction, is so late of development in the legal history of mankind that we must not regard the absence of such a conception among these boys as an indication of an abnormally low state of moral culture. To look for exalted views of right and wrong among them would be to expect them to reverse the usual processes of mental progress.

I have treated this incident at such length because of its typical character, and of its likeness to primitive usage. If it was an event of rare occurrence, its significance would be less; but it is, in fact, an example of what occurs almost daily at McDonogh. The crowd of boys assembled about the contestants, whose verdict decides the controversy, is, in many respects, the counterpart of a primitive assembly of the people on the folkmote. Every boy has the right to express an opinion and every boy present exercises his privilege, though personal prowess and great experience in matters of law have their full share of influence on the minds of the judges. The primitive idea that dispensing justice is a public trust, which the community itself must fulfill towards its members, is embodied in this usage of the "McDonogh boys." The judges are not arbitrators chosen by the disputants, nor are they public functionaries, whose sole business is to preside over the courts, but the whole body of the population declares by word of mouth the right and wrong of the matter. This tumultuous body of schoolfellows, giving decisions in quarrels and determining questions of custom, reproduces, with remarkable fidelity, the essential character of the primitive Assembly.

John Johnson, *Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science*, Second Series, No. XI.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Make a first-hand study of a boy's gang: as to its personnel, its leader, its objects, its moral influence on its members and on others, etc.

2. The general moral influence of the gang. Puffer, Buck, Chapter II.

3. To what extent can the club take the place of the gang? Buck, etc.

4. How organize a boy's club? Buck.

5. Let the student analyze the industrial, social and moral situation in a community well known to himself, and describe how *he* might organize a boys' club and what it might accomplish.

6. To what extent can the boys' clubs organized by adults really enlist the hearty support of boys, really utilize their group-forming instincts?

7. The type of personality required by the club adviser.

8. The origin, social significance and probable future of the boy-scout movement.

9. What "primary ideals" seem to be fostered by the gang? Puffer, etc.

10. How do the primary ideals developed by the club differ from those of the gang?

11. Ways in which the institutionalized forces of education could strengthen their work by taking into account the corporate or group-forming tendencies of youth.

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CHAPTER XV

THE SOCIAL LIFE OF THE SCHOOL

The Social Life of the School and Social Education

In a preceding section we studied "primary groups," one of the fundamental manifestations of social life. We noted that "primary groups" develop with entire spontaneity in childhood and youth. As has been suggested the school, whatever its character or its ideals, has a corporate or group life, of some sort, is in a word a primary group with all the possibilities for shaping or misshaping character, which go therewith. This corporate life is, in fact, an inevitable outcome of the bringing together of young people for the purpose of study and training. It might be called a by-product of regular school activity, but it is an unavoidable by-product, and all who are concerned with education must reckon with it. Indeed, the very fact that some sort of corporate life tends to develop in the school has brought educators to a recognition of the general need that children be trained along social as well as along intellectual lines.

Well-developed notions of the significant social side of school work are only beginning to make themselves felt. First there was the spontaneous uncontrolled social life of the school. Then there was a growing recognition of the necessity of the school's supervising and directing these social tendencies that they might not interfere with the regular and proper work of education, and last of all the conviction has gradually shaped itself that not merely must this social life be controlled, but also that it should be a part of the function of public education to develop it, that the educational ideal of social efficiency cannot be attained through a purely intellectual training of youth.

The school, then, as a social group presents important problems to the teacher. It is possible to study this school life from two fairly distinguishable points of view. First, there is the social life as a thing in itself, a sort of corporate existence with a definite character and

mode of expression. Secondly, there is the problem of the specific influence exerted by this group life upon the traditional work of teaching and learning. At first thought, this last problem might appear to be only a special aspect of the first one, but it is really a separate and even larger question, having to do with the general social conditions of intellectual development.[1]

The problem now before us is that of gaining a clear concept of the nature and significance of the corporate life of the school, the ways of controlling it, when necessary, and even of systematically developing it and, furthermore, of the desirability and methods of a social as well as an intellectual training.

That there *is* a social life of the school there is no need here to argue. Whenever people of any age come together and work together for any length of time, some sort of *esprit de corps* is apt to develop, and it is not strange that it should develop in the school. To be sure this group life varies in character with the age of the pupils. In the elementary school, for instance, it consists of little more than a primitive mob spirit which is manifested only occasionally. More and more, as the secondary school age is approached, does a higher corporate life appear among the pupils. Its beginnings are to be noted in gradual emergence of opinions of various sorts which exert a marked controlling influence upon each individual. The pupil gradually becomes conscious of a public opinion among his associates to which he must bow. All sorts of organizations, clubs, and cliques begin quite spontaneously to grow up. The pupils work more and more in groups. Leaders appear, and a full-fledged social life is soon in full swing, whether the teacher has given the matter his attention or not. The first reaction of the teacher to this budding social spirit is often a feeling that it should be suppressed because of interfering with the legitimate work of the school. As soon, however, as it is seen to be inevitable, the thought comes that it should at least be controlled, so as to produce a minimum of distractions or, perhaps, that it may furnish a safety valve for the bubbling spirits of youth. There can be no question of the need of this oversight and control, but we are now beginning to see that its object is not that of holding in check a necessary evil. Instead of an evil, the corporate life of the school is one of the

[1] The treatment of this latter phase will be reserved for a later section.

most important opportunities of present-day education. As Brown well says: —

"There are other factors besides discipline and good order in the school that should enter into the question of its social life. Is it not possible so to control and direct this great adolescent impulse that it shall become a valuable factor in the education of boys and girls, both from the viewpoint of their own individual welfare and from that of social efficiency? The dominating influence of the impulse seems to challenge our ability to find a valuable use for it rather than to restrain it merely, and from the purely educational point of view this is much the larger part of the problem. What is the educational value of the social life that is possible in the high school?" [1]

The social development of the pupil is certainly scarcely less important than his intellectual and moral training. In fact, it is seen with increasing clearness that these latter phases are in very intimate ways dependent upon social factors and that they are bound to be distorted if the social side is ignored.

It will be well at this point to try to state just what is meant by social education and wherein the need for it exists. Abstractly stated, it may be said that the object of social education is to develop and afford proper expression for a well-balanced social nature. As one writer says,[2] it is the whole child who goes to school, and he must be provided for as a whole. School is life only in so far as it provides for all fundamental interests of those who attend. The school brings children together and it is a part of the school's duty to teach them to live together as they will have to live as adults, "serious and useful, but also glad and happy lives."

The social training needful is much more than what would be comprised in learning to conform to the usages of polite society. What we have rather in mind is the larger need of learning to mingle with other people and being an effective member of a social group. A man with ever so well trained a mind will nevertheless be seriously handicapped if he does not know how to talk to his fellow-men, how to persuade them, how to coöperate with them in common enterprises. There are a thousand things of the utmost importance for a successful

[1] J. F. Brown, *American High School.*

[2] W. B. Owen, "Social education through the school," *School Review*, Vol. 15, p. 13.

life which can be learned only by being an active member of a well-organized social group. A man who would succeed in any kind of business must know how to meet people and how to deal tactfully with them, how to enjoy them, and his sense of humor must be keen. It will be greatly to his advantage to know how to conduct himself without embarrassment and with frankness and courtesy among those of the opposite sex. In a word, our truly successful man must be good mannered, sympathetic, sociable, human. The school group affords many opportunities for providing for just these needs, for effecting a wholesome development of the social nature of the youth. The qualities enumerated above, although they rest upon instincts, are largely shaped by proper social intercourse.

Nor are the so-called social conventionalities to be despised in education. They often in themselves seem artificial and arbitrary even to the point of absurdity, but they are safeguards of individual and public morality. Training in social usages affords to adolescents a legitimate outlet to impulses, which are, at their age, in very definite need of both expression and regulation. A controlled or conventionalized social life is a safety valve for which the school may well do its part to provide. "The educational value of experience in more or less formal life is very great, especially for those young people whose social positions would deprive them of it elsewhere. Probably it is of no less value to the children of the rich or cultured if they learn through it the lesson of true politeness and graciousness." [1]

"What is wanted [then] is a hearty recognition of the desirability of many forms of social activity in the high school, and the active participation of the faculty or specified members thereof in their development. Already there are some evidences of this in the matter of athletics. Under a director of physical education, having a broad view of the physiological and social significance of sports and athletics, much can be done, as experience shows. Possibly in other social matters a large high school could not do better than to develop some kind of social secretary or school visitor who should study social needs and coöperate in the realization of means to meet them. In some schools the practice has arisen of having each society which is organized with the school as a basis select some member of the faculty

[1] J. F. Brown, *op. cit.*

as an advisory or counseling member. This works well, and the teachers should be provided with time and means to coöperate. In small schools an active principal, of course, keeps the advisory functions in his own hands, but under present traditions he is not always sympathetic, looking upon social activities as something to be tolerated, but not to be encouraged." [1]

It is important to bear in mind that the social life of the school is a great deal larger and more complex than a mere series of evening parties or other so-called social functions. It is true these may be one of the modes by which that social life finds expression, but there are other and even more important modes. It is this narrower aspect, however, which the superficial critic usually has in mind when he urges against the development of the social life of the school that there is already *too* much of that very thing. True there may be too many parties, but there can hardly be too much of properly controlled social life. At any rate the social life *is there* and will remain there, and it is the abnormal distorted phases which inevitably develop, when school officials refuse to recognize the societary character of the school or try to suppress it, that are open to criticism. Of this there may easily be too much.

It is the normal, healthful, corporate life, which finds expression in many ways, of which each pupil is a part and to which each pupil contributes something that is referred to in this discussion. It reveals itself in various activities of the school as a whole and also in all sorts of subsidiary and yet contributing activities.

"The entire small school may well form the social unit. Even in the largest schools the whole must be the unit whose interests dominate. Smaller groups may be advantageously formed, but their activities must be properly limited, and they must not be left to run themselves without the interest or supervision of teachers. . . .

"These groups may be organized with the best purposes, but the instances are extremely few in which they can run successfully without the assistance of a wiser head." [2]

The subordinate groups are to be thought of as expressions of differentiated interests, affording to the several members of the school

[1] Dutton and Snedden, pp. 379, 380.

[2] J. F. Brown, *The American High School*, p. 368.

group opportunity for contributing to the general life according to their individual interests and capacities. The school may be made more of an avenue for social training in the best sense by cultivating various expressions of general corporate life such as are found in ordinary schools. Among these, the commonest and often least appreciated is the school assembly for morning exercises and for other similar functions. Another important expression of the life of the school as a whole occurs in interschool contests in oratory, debate or athletics. These contests serve to bring out and develop group feeling in ways that are most healthful if they are properly controlled. It is not, however, the mere spirit as such that is important, but rather opportunities afforded by these strong general interests for various lines of coöperative activity in which the entire school may participate. Here the pupils get valuable lessons in the art of working together and subordinating self-interest to the general welfare. There are also unlimited opportunities for learning how to meet and talk to people, plead causes, shape opinions of one's fellows, all of which is indispensable to one who wishes to be able to handle such many-sided vocations in present-day society as those of the educator, doctor, lawyer, minister or business man.

The school festival as developed by the Ethical Culture School, New York, is an admirable illustration of the way the school life may find fruitful expression.

"There are two important effects which may be said to be the basic ideas of the festival. The one has to do particularly with the school body as audience, the other with those who in any particular festival are the performers. The festival serves as a unifying influence which is felt by every one in the school audience. This results from the fact that although parents are welcomed as visitors, the festival is prepared for the members of the school and is adapted to their needs. The assigning of various festivals to grades, from different sections of the school, and treating the contributions of each as that which one part of the family gives to the whole, also adds to this result. Thus, at harvest or Thanksgiving time, the members of the oldest class may present their message to all their younger mates; at Christmas time the entertainers are an intermediate grade; on May Day, the primaries. Then, again at the Christmas season, each class may join

in the grand procession, and with gay costumes, rollicking song or simple action contribute its part to the whole. Each gives what it can, and all receiving this in a sympathetic way are thus bound into one large family or social group. The appreciative applause with which the older greet the younger, who in their turn at the proper time repay the compliment, gives rise to a school feeling and pride which is an inspiration and help to all.

"Possibly the most important underlying idea is this: For those who are presenting the festival, there are certain advantages that can hardly be secured in any other way. The responsibility for the occasion introduces a peculiarly valuable motive which affects even the most unresponsive members of the class. The problem of learning has a new aspect, for the question of communication here appears in its best form. To the performers comes a transforming standard; not what we know, but what we can make others know; not what we feel, but what we can make others feel. Very soon arises a consciousness of that first element of effective communication; namely, absolute clearness and definiteness on the part of the one who is to give the message. Pupils become conscious of their own weaknesses, as they strive to collect their material. In the desire to help others they find they must prepare themselves. There arises a spirit of self-induced activity which is of the greatest value. Books are read, authorities consulted, pictures studied, that the teacher hardly knows about."[1]

Aside from these general expressions of group life there are, as we have indicated, the differentiated activities of various minor organizations, all, however, contributing something of interest to the general life of the school. Of such are the various clubs, athletic, dramatic, debating, camera and musical; the chorus, the orchestra, etc. In each case something of more or less general interest is worked out by those specially adapted for it. A part of the interest is due to the knowledge that they are doing something in whose accomplishment all are to some extent interested. In fact, the very life of a club depends upon some degree of social approval—upon some recognition of social service. "The school must seek out and develop lines of social participation, and must aim in a friendly manner to aid those of spontaneous development. Only thus can it recognize the vast impor-

[1] Peter Dykema, *Craftsman*, 12: 644, 646.

tance of this period in social education. Social education of the best type will not be found in books, nor even through the contact of teachers of high social power. It must be learned in action, and the schools must aid in the development of channels for these activities." [1]

In these smaller organizations there is again abundant opportunity for the individual to learn the lessons of the social arts of conversation, of service, of coöperation and of leadership. It is most important that the members of the various subsidiary organizations should feel that what they do is a sort of specialized contribution to the common life of the school. In this life of the school as a whole and of the various organizations within the school there is fertile soil in which primary ideals will almost spontaneously spring up and flourish.

Aside from the social training from participation in the general and specialized phases of school life, some have felt that there is need for a social training in the narrower sense. Thus it is held [2] that the school must provide for mere social recreation, and that it should offer in its program, at stated intervals, opportunities for social intercourse of the more formal sort. The first and most valuable result of such opportunities for social recreation is that they satisfy a natural and harmless desire, " and thus contribute to the happiness of the individual. The youth who has no social life is usually unhappy, and is sometimes driven by his solitude to unfortunate habits of thought or conduct. In mature life one is glad to remember a happy youth as well as a happy childhood, and whatever contributes innocently to that end is commendable." [3]

The average modern family, even if it fully understood the need, is scarcely able, financially, to provide properly for the social recreation of its children. The school at least has an opportunity that the home does not have. The children are already together and are under more or less definite control. It usually has some suitable places such as classrooms or gymnasium in which social functions can take place with little expense and under proper supervision. Moreover, as Owen says, " the natural companionship of the pupil is with his schoolmates. The school society, in reality, is formed every morning when the pupils

[1] Dutton and Snedden, *op. cit.*, p. 380.
[2] W. B. Owen, "Social Education through the School," *School Review*, Vol. 15.
[3] Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

leave their homes, and is dissolved every evening as they reach their homes. The very act of bringing the young together for school purposes is a stimulus to their social instincts. The school ought to recognize this, and in connection with, and under the control of, the school there ought to be provided ample opportunity for purely social recreation. This policy would not contemplate at all the confusing of two different aims, the intellectual and the social, but the fusion of the two into a larger and more inclusive aim. I would advocate, to be explicit, the introduction into the program of the school regular social occasions, as stated, at reasonably frequent intervals. These social meetings might take whatever form the circumstances would suggest. They should be conducted under school control in such a way as to be a source of pleasure to the pupils and of real educational value. Ask yourselves about our ideals as to the all-around training of our own children. Do we not consider their social training an essential element in their future success, just as essential as their intellectual training? Can we not secure this training in large measure, if we but know how, in connection with their school life? We trust this whole side of education to the family. But I submit that the family does not and cannot control the social training that for good or ill is an inevitable accompaniment of the gathering together of so many young people into the school. Instead of deliberately neglecting these patent facts, why should we not utilize them as a golden opportunity for rounding out our educational scheme? We should thus unify and enrich the life of the children and bind them by the strongest ties to the school, and the indirect influence of such a course on the purely intellectual work of the school would be of the best. I know of an experiment of this kind in a school, and I can bear testimony that in the opinion of teachers and pupils the experiment is an unqualified success.

"That some such provision is needed in our schools is proved by the development of the high school fraternities and sororities. The real meaning of these organizations is that the pupils have in this way attempted to provide just such social opportunities as we have suggested. It is idle to object to them that they are selfish and inadequate, when we remember that they are the creations of young and inexperienced children. It is equally idle to declaim against them unless we can

provide some other system that will do for all what they do for some. I am strongly opposed to the fraternity system in our schools, but I hope that I am not bigoted on the question. My fundamental and single objection to them is the fact that they organize the school on a social basis that is narrow and selfish. I can conceive, however, a social organization of the school in which they might possibly be of but little significance. But as long as the life of the school is what it now is, they serve but to emphasize our neglect. I can appreciate the theoretical defense made in their behalf by a culture-epoch theory of history. The simple fact is that they stand in the way of a social organization of the school that shall provide for all free expressions to social instinct, controlled development of social power, and a happy enjoyment of the society of one's fellows. The best way to deal with the school fraternity is to beat it at its own game.

"Other vexed questions of school policy and management find a reasonable solution when viewed from this standpoint. School athletics are an instance in point. As at present conducted, they are for the selected few. All that is said for them as developing individual courage and prowess and as focusing at times the spirit of the school could as well be said were they but incidental to a larger athletic life in which all could participate. Provision for supervised and directed play for all pupils is the ideal, not toward which we should strive, but with which we should begin. We talk a great deal about the play instinct and its place in intellectual and social development. But we promote a system of school athletics that throws our theories to the winds. Let some one of our schools set itself resolutely to experiment with this problem and give us all the benefit of the results. Could we ask for a better chance to provide social and moral training than might be found on a well-equipped playground under the control of rightly trained instructors? The park commissioners have recognized the opportunities, even if the board of education has not.

"If the point of view we have developed is correct, what shall we say of coeducation in the schools? The problem is not an easy one, and it bids fair to become more difficult with the growing complexity of our life. Admitting, then, the difficulties to exist, what shall be our method of procedure? We have a system thoroughly established — at least in the schools of the Middle West. In the main, it has worked

satisfactorily. Now that we are conscious of certain unfavorable tendencies and results, what should be our recourse? Should we hastily retrace our steps and abandon what we have already gained? Should we not rather ask ourselves if these shortcomings of the system are not due to the neglect to round out and complete it? I prefer to believe that the latter is the way of wisdom. Mechanically to mass boys and girls together in a classroom or in the halls is not coeducation. The problem does not have its origin in the classroom. It is pushed in from outside. Not originating there, it cannot be solved there. It is a problem again of the organization of the whole school life. Why can we not realize what the problem is and adopt direct means to solve it instead of evading or retreating? Boys and girls should be taught to live and work together as they will be called upon to live and work in life."

It is scarcely necessary to specify at length the objections to an uncontrolled social life in the school. As suggested in the above quotation, the fraternity is one of the results. In general, lack of control results in the development of factions and cliques. A school with such a social life is more open to the lower aspects of suggestion. A distinctly low plane of sociality develops. The pupils get no well-balanced social education. Some are crowded out and others appropriate the lion's share of the privileges that should be for all alike.

In the pages which follow is described the practical experience of one school which has attempted to provide for the social needs of its pupils.

The Social Organization of the High School

That the school is a society, that the child is a social being, that education is not preparation for life, but life itself, are statements found in many oft-recurring forms in the literature of pedagogy. Of the truth of the principle involved, there can be no doubt. In recent times the curriculum of the secondary school has been examined in the light of this doctrine, and important modifications have been made involving the dropping of some subjects, the addition of others, and marked changes in methods of instruction. But no one will declare that with all these changes on the formal side our high schools are now making adequate provision for the social training of their pupils.

Sociability is a marked characteristic of the period of adolescence. Young people of this age form natural groups for team games, for literary and artistic pursuits of a more or less serious nature, and for less serious enjoyments such as dancing. The reason underlying the formation of all these groups is their desire to be together. The home is able to provide for these social enjoyments only in a small degree, and in most cases does not do so at all. The church does something in this direction for those whom it is able to reach. Some churches have formed clubs for their boys and girls which in a measure satisfy the social needs of a few, but these organizations are usually restricted by lack of suitable leaders and of the facilities required to give variety and permanent attractiveness to their work. The Young Men's Christian Association also partly meets the needs of many. But the street corner, vacant lot, billiard hall, and sometimes less desirable places are often the only places in which this natural instinct finds unrestricted opportunity for development. Under these conditions it is small wonder that the satisfaction of this desire for social activity on the part of young people often takes forms annoying to the older and more serious members of the community, if not positively harmful to the young people themselves. But while the home, the church and similar organizations are unable to meet the social needs of the adolescent boy and girl, the high school is peculiarly adapted to this end. It is the natural center for the promotion and proper regulation of this side of the pupil's life. Thrown together intimately during a large part of their waking hours, the pupils most naturally form their social groups from their schoolfellows. The classes form natural units for competition in athletic games; the pupil's interest in literary, musical or artistic activities often makes it possible to turn his social instincts in directions which promote his intellectual and æsthetic development. There is also the additional advantage that the authority of the teachers, which controls the pupils as no authority outside of school does, if extended sympathetically to the social life of the pupils, assures a better regulation than can possibly be provided in any other way.

It is apparent that the high school has generally failed to recognize its responsibility in this direction. Athletic, literary, debating, musical and art clubs, with the other forms of social activity natural to this period, are seldom thought of by school authorities as a means of securing an important educational end. Save as a principal or teacher has a chance to interest himself in some particular form of the social life of his pupils, little attention is paid to those features of school life except to repress or control their troublesome developments. For proof of this, one need only look through the proceedings of our educational societies and the periodicals of secondary education,

where he will find numerous articles dealing with the pathological side of the situation. Prominent among these are numerous papers dealing with the difficulties arising from the financial mismanagement of school athletics and the low standards of sportsmanship prevailing in high schools. Perhaps the best illustration of the serious consequences of the prevalent attitude of school authorities toward these matters is found in the school fraternity, which grew up and flourished recently in response to a real need of the pupils for the satisfaction of which the school made no provision. But neither the difficulties connected with school athletics nor the more serious ones of the school fraternity can be permanently removed by the method of repression. Unless we give more serious and intelligent consideration to the real nature of the problem, we shall find ourselves before long confronted by the same difficulties in another form. We cannot change the nature of the boy, nor should we try to do so. Only as we come to understand him and work sympathetically with him can we expect to secure peace for ourselves and an adequate social training for him.

The English public schools since the time of Arnold have recognized the importance of sports in developing the many qualities which make for sound character. One need only visit the playing fields of Rugby on an afternoon of a half holiday and watch the boys at play, or walk through the cricket clubhouse where no lockers are necessary to insure the security of one's possessions, to realize that there are standards of honesty and sportsmanship attainable among boys which we have as yet hardly dared to hope for. It is true that the boys in these schools come from a distinct social class and present a homogeneity of ideal and training which is found in none of our public high schools and is only approached in a few of our private schools; yet the traditions and practices of the great public schools of England are the result of an appreciation of the possibilities of utilizing the natural social instincts of the boys and of a definite plan of organization for the purpose of securing through these the best possible training for the leaders of the next generation. Of late, notable success has been secured in the same direction in the English municipal day schools, which are very much like our public high schools. The most valuable lesson which we may learn from the English schools is in their recognition of the value of the more purely social activities as a means of training the youth and in their method of organizing these activities in such a way as to secure the best results.

In this country many schools have adopted elaborate systems of social organization called "school cities" and generally spoken of under the rather misleading caption of "student self-government." These have consciously imitated the forms of organization of mature society, particularly on the repressive side, with policemen and courts

of justice through which offenders against the requirements of the school society are detected, apprehended, tried and sentenced by their fellows. It is claimed that practical civics may best be taught in this way, that pupils develop greater independence, a higher sense of honor, and more consideration for the rights of others. These desirable ends have doubtless been secured through the operation of the plan under favorable conditions. However, its adoption by teachers who had not considered sufficiently the details of the plan or by those who were not adapted to this peculiar method of control has led in many cases to its failure and abandonment. In the last analysis there is no such thing as successful student self-government. The guiding personality of the teacher, however tactfully he may conceal himself, is the one feature to its success. It may further be said that this form of organization is highly artificial, and the duties which the pupils assume with the offices to which they are elected are likely to become uninteresting and arduous.

After all, the school city does not, as an essential part of its operation, make provision for those natural social activities to which I have just referred as so prominent in the life of the English public school. In these, the house, in which from forty to sixty boys live, forms the natural unit of organization of the social life. On entrance to school a boy is placed in a certain house of which he continues to be a member so long as he remains in the school. In this house center all his social interests and enthusiasms. For its honor he contends in football, cricket and the other forms of contests, feeling greater concern only for the honor of his school as a whole. The same method of organization has been employed in many English day schools, the boys being divided into groups called "houses," carrying over this name from the boarding schools, although of course the boys do not live together in separate houses. Among the advantages of this method of organization are the following: the houses form units of convenient size and provide a large number of positions in which boys are learning how to be effective leaders; the permanency of the group makes it possible to build up strong and helpful traditions; the presence in the same house of boys at all stages of advancement brings the younger boys into intimate relation with their leaders and provides for the control of the younger by the older boys.

The house method with some modification has been adopted in some of our American boarding schools, but it is not adapted to conditions in our high schools. What we may learn from the English school is not so much in the direction of formal organization as in the attitude of the teachers toward the social life of the boys. In England the secondary school teacher feels it as much a part of his work to share in the sports of his boys on the playground as to instruct them

in the classroom. It is not difficult to trace to its own source the real reason why sport is enjoyed by English boys for its own sake and why the low standards of honesty and sportsmanship so often found in American schools are not to be found there. Instead of placing our teachers in responsible charge of the boys at their games, more often we leave them without supervision or give them into the hands of professional coaches whose personal habits are frequently questionable and whose chief desire is that their team may win at whatever cost. It is absolutely essential to the proper organization and control of the social activities of the high school that the teachers shall recognize their value and share in the responsibility and labor involved. It is only fair to expect that time and effort spent by teachers in these directions shall be taken into consideration in the amount of other work assigned in the more formal work of teaching.

No such basis as the English schools find in their house plan for the formation of suitable groups seems to be at hand in our high schools. The classes form natural groups around which certain social activities center, but in the various literary, scientific, musical and other clubs, no such basis of selection is appropriate. Here similarity of interests seems to offer the only basis for the formation of groups. One principle must be insisted upon, that all except class clubs shall be open to all members of the school, both pupils and teachers.

The details of organization adapted to any individual school may best be worked out by those in charge. It may not be inappropriate to state with some completeness the methods employed and the results secured in the school with which the writer is connected. The University High School, Chicago, is a day school of six hundred pupils of whom about two thirds are boys. The school aims to provide for all the proper social activities of its pupils. These activities are in charge of four committees of the faculty as follows: Committee on Athletics and Games, Committee on Literary Clubs, Committee on Science and Art Clubs, Committee on Student Publications. The following rules have been adopted governing all clubs in the school: (1) All clubs have faculty advisers. (2) No club holds its meetings in the evening. (3) New clubs to be formed must obtain the approval of the appropriate faculty committee. (4) All clubs in arranging for the time of meeting must consult the appropriate faculty committee. (5) The days of meeting of the different clubs are: Monday — Music Clubs; Tuesday — Science and Literary Clubs; Wednesday, Arts and Crafts Clubs; Thursday — Debating Clubs; Friday — Parties. It is apparent that these activities are under careful supervision. This, of course, does not mean that the teachers exert a repressive influence that robs the social life of the pupils of its natural spon-

taneity. They are rather helpful advisers sharing with the pupils in their enjoyment of their social life. The requirement that all meetings of clubs shall be in the daytime removes many difficulties that are found where pupils gather in the evening. All meetings are held on the school premises, the usual hour being three o'clock, the hour when the session of the day ends. The schedule providing for meetings of certain groups of clubs on certain days makes it possible for a pupil to belong to clubs of various sorts and thus extend his social activities more widely than he otherwise might.

Athletics naturally interest the greatest number of both boys and girls. For the boys, athletics include football, baseball, track, basket ball, swimming, golf, tennis and gymnastics; for the girls there are basket ball, baseball, hockey, tennis, golf, swimming, track and gymnastics. These sports are in charge of the Department of Physical Instruction, which consists of two men and two women who devote all their time to the physical training of the pupils with such assistants as are necessary to secure careful supervision of all games. There are contests throughout the entire year in these various sports, out of doors when the weather is suitable and indoors at other times. Most of the contests are between different teams of the school. For these teams the classes form the basis of division, though the number of teams from a given class is not confined to one in each sport. For example, in the autumn, in football each class has its first and second teams. Definite schedules are played by the boys' class teams in football, baseball, track (both indoor and outdoor), basket ball, and tennis, and by the girls' teams in basket ball, swimming and tennis. With competition running high for places on these different teams and with daily practice or games, it will be seen that every afternoon throughout the entire year finds a large number both of the boys and of the girls engaged in competitive games of some sort. During the autumn of last year there were eight football teams practicing and playing regularly. It is possible in this way to rob of all weight the objection that athletics actually furnish physical training only to a few pupils and those the ones who least need it. While the school does not yet secure, as do the English public schools, that each pupil who is physically able shall compete regularly in some form of athletic sport, yet a large part, both boys and girls, actually do engage in such sport with regularity under careful supervision.

While in most schools interschool games with the preparation of the teams for these contests comprise all the athletic training and are participated in by a very small number of pupils, in the University High School the interschool games comprise but a small part of those actually played. For example, last autumn, while there were more than one hundred boys who played in football games, there

were only four games played with teams from other schools. In some other forms of sport the number of interschool games was larger than in football, but in all the sports the number of games played between teams within the school was much in excess of those played with teams from other schools. It has been urged that distinct advantage would be gained if all interschool athletic games could be given up and all contests be confined to teams within the school. The high schools of one city have tried this plan, and reports indicate that the results have been most satisfactory. This is doubtless an effective method of getting rid of the serious difficulties that have attended interschool games in the past. But these difficulties are not without possibility of remedy, and giving up interschool contests is a distinct loss to a school. Dr. Gulick has shown that while the physical results of interschool athletics are inconsiderable, the chief end sought in these contests is not physical, but social and moral, training in which the whole school shares. By being loyal to his school, whether a member of a team or not, a boy is developing " the qualities of loyalty, of social morality and of social conscience. These are the essential elements out of which social loyalty and morality may be developed." With clear vision and firm insistence upon high standards of sportsmanlike conduct on the part of athletic teams, school officers may lay the foundation of traditions for clean and gentlemanly sport which every member of the school, as well as the members of the team, will take pride in maintaining. Not many years ago the annual football game between two schools was attended with a general fight between the supporters of the opposing teams in which it was necessary for the police to take a hand, followed in the darkness of night by defacement of the walls of the school buildings by the painting of opprobrious epithets. Last autumn on the evening before the game between these same schools, the members of one team were entertained at dinner by the members of the other, and while the game was attended by intense enthusiasm on the part of the supporters from each school, there were none of the unfortunate occurrences of the former year, and the two schools actually cheered for each other more than once during the game. There is no doubt that here was a distinct gain in social morality on the part of some two thousand young people which was worth much effort to secure and which could not have been gained except through the agency of carefully conducted interschool athletics. In order to establish the relation of host and guest between the opposing teams, in the contract for two games in successive years with the only team outside Chicago with which our team will play, there is a specific agreement that the home team shall entertain their visitors socially at dinner on the evening before the game.

At the close of the season for each sport, school emblems are awarded to members of the teams which have represented the school, and to the class teams the privilege of wearing the class numeral is given. These are voted by the faculty committee on athletics on the recommendation of the member of the Department of Physical Training in charge of the team and the captain of the team. In awarding these emblems, faithfulness in training and in practice and loyalty to the team and school are fundamental requirements which are considered in addition to ability and performance in the games. It has happened that an athlete of exceptional ability has failed to receive an emblem because he did not meet the high standard set outside that for mere ability in the sport. When it is also considered that the privilege of representing the school in any form depends upon the satisfactory performance of scholastic work, it will be understood that the school emblem is perhaps the most coveted possession one may secure. At the last assembly of each quarter the successes of the teams are recounted by their fellows, and the members are called upon the platform, where, amid great enthusiasm, they receive their emblems. But opportunity is never lost at these times to point out the real meaning of the occasion and to restate and strengthen the traditions for manly sport that are becoming every year more effective in the school.

While athletics probably engage a larger amount of time and interest than all other forms of social life combined, provision is made for a great variety of social activity of other sorts. Debating is carried on in class clubs which meet at regular intervals and in the Clay Club, an organization which dates from the first year of the school. Debates are held each year with other schools, for which the debaters are selected by competition open to the entire school. After the contests the sting of defeat as well as the elation of victory is tempered by bringing the representatives of the two schools together socially on the basis of guest and host. The Engineering Club holds regular meetings throughout the year, at which reports are made and papers read both by members of the Club and by others. The Camera and Sketch clubs interest many, and make creditable exhibits of their work at the end of the year which attract the attention not only of members of the school, but of many visitors. The Dramatic Club supplements regular work given to an elective class in connection with the English Department. Perhaps the most creditable public performance connected with all the social work of the school has been the annual dramatic entertainment, which attracts a large and appreciative audience. Two short plays, of high literary and artistic merit, are presented, the object being to provide opportunity for as large a number as possible to share the benefits resulting from this training.

Competent judges select the participants in trials open to all pupils of the school. There are various musical clubs, both vocal and instrumental, which meet regularly and furnish music for the school assemblies and various public occasions. Modern language clubs make agreeable social adjuncts to the classroom work in these departments.

Reference has been made to the classes as forming natural group divisions in athletics. These are also used for debating, music, class parties, etc. Class meetings give excellent opportunities for gaining knowledge and practice in parliamentary usage. Class elections are always held by ballot in the school office. Nominations are made by a committee elected by the class, and additional nominations may be made by petition signed by ten members of the class. In practice this method of nomination is always employed.

There are three student publications,—a daily newspaper, a monthly devoted to literary work, and an annual of the usual sort. Each of these is under the careful supervision of a teacher. The daily is a four-page sheet which covers in a thorough manner the daily happenings of the school and also serves as a bulletin for announcements to pupils and faculty. A separate group of editors has charge of each day's issue during the week, thus distributing the work so that it is not excessive. The material used in the monthly is selected from the regular theme work of the class.

The Students' Council is an organization consisting of fifteen members, comprising the presidents of each of the four classes and four members of the senior class, three members of the junior class, and two members each from the sophomore and freshman class. It is thus a representative group of the entire school. Regular meetings are held at which matters of general interest to the school are discussed. Recommendations from the students to the faculty are made through the medium of the council. Measures under consideration by the faculty are sometimes referred to the council and their opinion sought. Aside from these deliberative functions, the council nominates the candidates for managers of the various athletic teams before their election by the Faculty Committee on Athletics and Games.

A group of "honor societies" presents what is, perhaps, a unique feature in the high school. One of these, open both to boys and girls, is based on scholarship. Its object, as stated, is to maintain the standard of scholarship and to promote good fellowship among the members of the school. Election to this is confined to members of the senior class who have been members of the school not less than two years, who have maintained a certain high record of scholarship, and who are of good moral character. All who have satisfied these conditions are elected to membership on approval of the deans. Membership in this society is a highly coveted honor. Two other

societies, one each for boys and girls, are composed of members of the senior class selected because of distinguished service in promoting the social, as contrasted with the scholastic, life of the school. The membership of the boys' society is limited to fifteen, and of the girls' society to ten. For purpose of election to these societies, the more important of the offices in connection with the various social organizations are divided into two classes, major and minor. Those holding major offices become *ex officio* members. Of those holding minor offices, enough are selected by the senior class to fill the membership of the boys' society to fifteen, and of the girls' to ten. In these elections, which are held by ballot in the school offices, boys vote for boys, and girls for girls. All candidates for these societies, both *ex officio* and by election, must be approved by vote of the faculty. That it may not appear that too great a premium is placed on the holding of office, it should be stated that no one of these offices, either major or minor, can be held by one who has failed in any study during the previous quarter or whose work in any study is unsatisfactory at the time of election. That membership in these societies is the most highly coveted honor in the school will be easily appreciated. It is interesting to note that there are several instances each year in which the same pupil is a member of the honor society based on scholarship and of that based on social prominence.

The general school assembly plays an important part in the social life of the school. This occurs on Monday morning and occupies a full hour. It is introduced by a brief formal religious service. The remainder of the hour is used in various ways to serve the interests of the school. All announcements regarding the different clubs and other student organizations are made by the student officers, who always speak from the platform. A sense of responsibility is thus encouraged in the officers, and, besides, there is no small value in this practice in extemporaneous speaking before a large and critical audience. School activities not easily under observation are made the subjects of special programs. An example of this sort is the school daily, to which an entire program was given, embodying a description by several members of the staff of the process of bringing out a single issue. The awarding of emblems to the athletic teams at the close of each quarter has already been described. Frequent musical programs are furnished by members of the faculty and pupils. There are lectures and addresses on appropriate subjects from time to time, and of course there are certain vital topics which need to be presented by the officers of the school. In general it is the purpose to make the assembly an occasion in which the whole school gathers to consider together, in as informal a manner as possible, the things which are vitally interesting to the school.

The University High School, in common with most city high schools, has had its fraternity problem to settle. Five years ago there were in the school several secret societies among both boys and girls. The whole question was considered carefully for a year by faculty, parents and students. As a result of much discussion it was decided by vote of the Parents' Association to rid the school of these organizations by requiring a pledge from the pupils who were then members that they would take no further members into their societies. The original societies, with constantly diminishing membership by reason of graduation or removal, had a legitimate existence in the school up to last year. All applicants for admission to the school before their applications are accepted are now required to present the following pledge signed by themselves and their parents or guardians: —

"I hereby declare that I am not a member of any fraternity, sorority, or other secret society, and that I am not pledged to any such society. I hereby promise without any mental reservation that, as long as I shall be a member of the University High School, I will have no connection whatever with any secret society, in this school or elsewhere. I also declare that I regard myself bound to keep these promises, and on no account to violate any of them."

The present situation with reference to fraternities has not been secured without many difficulties. These have been increased by the proximity of other schools in which chapters of the fraternities represented in the University High School could not be prevented from initiating members of the school. It has been necessary to remove from school a few who have violated their pledges. It may, however, fairly be said that the fraternity problem has been successfully solved.

The school authorities, however, have recognized that the fraternity represented the students' attempt to satisfy for themselves a genuine need. To provide for this natural desire of boys to get together in a place which they may call their own, the University High Club was started a little more than two years ago. Fortunately, there was a two-story dwelling house situated on the school ground, and owned by the University, which was easily made available for the use of the club. The house has a reception room, a reading room, a dining room, and a kitchen on the first floor; the second floor is occupied by the billiard room and one or two other small rooms. The clubhouse is open each day from 12.30 to 6 P.M. to members, who may be either boys or male teachers of the school. The membership fee is within the reach of all. Additional income is obtained from the billiard and pool tables and from the lunch room, which, by its profits, pays the expenses of a competent steward for the house. The officers of the club are boys who are under the supervision of a

member of the faculty. Regular meetings of the officers and directors are held, and a good deal of enterprise is shown in the management of club affairs. There is always a feeling of responsibility on the part of the officers who are among the older and more reliable boys which has absolutely prevented any serious misuse of the privileges of the club. The clubhouse is much frequented, boys and teachers enjoying its privileges together. Occasional social events take place here on Friday or Saturday evenings, such as small entertainments given by members of the club, or talks by men, sometimes the fathers of the boys. Visiting athletic teams are entertained here, the boys taking peculiar satisfaction in extending this courtesy in a clubhouse which is their own. Occasionally on a Saturday or some other special day, the clubhouse has been turned over to the girls, who have greatly appreciated this borrowed privilege. For the past two years there has been a Girls' Club, membership in which is open to all girls in the school without charge. Seven rooms in an apartment house on the school grounds have been attractively furnished by the girls and their mothers, and are used exclusively for the club. The club is organized similarly to that of the boys, and meets the social needs of the girls of the school. These clubs form the center of the social life of the boys and girls. In both there is a consistent effort to maintain a democratic spirit and to avoid the atmosphere of snobbishness, which is fundamentally the worst feature of the fraternity and sorority.

A recent innovation which promises to be of significance in the moral training of the boys of the school has been this year carried on in connection with the city Young Men's Christian Association. On each Wednesday evening a supper is served in the Y. M. C. A. building to the boys of the University High School and the Hyde Park High School, a public school in the same section of the city. The privilege of attendance has not been limited to members of the Association. From fifty to one hundred boys with three or four instructors sit down together at table. After supper they disperse to different rooms, where some form of Bible study or the consideration of some distinctively moral subject is taken up for forty-five minutes. The experience of one year indicates that these groups are likely to become centers of moral influence affecting the life of the entire school most beneficially.

Up to this point no direct reference has been made to that side of the social life growing out of the association of boys and girls in the same school. Of course, these relations have been implied in connection with the class organizations and the various dramatic, musical, literary and art clubs, in which the boys and girls mingle freely. It is, however, in connection with the parties that the boys

and girls come together for the sole purpose of enjoying one another's society. On each Friday afternoon during the autumn and winter quarters, there is a dancing party in the gymnasium from three to four-thirty. This is in charge of the teacher, who gives the regular class instruction in gymnastic dancing; there are also other teachers present and always a considerable number of parents. The party is open to all members of the school, but to no one else. No one is allowed to enter after the party opens nor leave until its close, and all who are present participate. The dancing takes the form of a cotillion, in which the figures are so devised as to secure a frequent and general mixing of the participants. The party closes formally, the parents and teachers standing in line to receive the good nights of the pupils as they pass out. These parties are largely attended, are evidently greatly enjoyed, and are marked by naturalness in the relations of the boys and girls toward each other. The period since these parties have been held has witnessed a constant diminution in the silliness which is supposed to accompany the relations of boys and girls at this age, and a corresponding increase in natural and unaffected conduct in the presence of each other. At the end of the autumn and winter quarters, two of these parties are made special occasions, one for the two lower, and the other for the two upper, classes. At these the Parents' Association provides favors, refreshments and special music. Again, toward the close of the year, another party is given to the whole school under the same auspices, which is the only school party for the year held in the evening.

All the activities thus far mentioned are planned directly for the pleasure or profit of the members of the school community. An opportunity for a larger social outlook is found in the University settlement, with whose aims and work the pupils are brought into intelligent and sympathetic contact. At least once each year some of the settlement workers speak at the school assembly. A settlement committee of boys and girls has occasional meetings and makes plans for assisting in the work. During the last two years the following results have been accomplished: a group of girls gave an exhibition of class work and games in the settlement gymnasium; Christmas parties for a number of old people have been held at the settlement, for which the pupils prepared enormous stockings filled with all sorts of articles useful and otherwise; two dramatic entertainments prepared for the school's own enjoyment have been repeated on the settlement stage; considerable sums of money have been secured through musical and other entertainments and by contributions from pupils which have provided for camping excursions for a large number of city boys who otherwise could not have enjoyed this pleasure. There has been a conscious effort to avoid the danger of

making the boys and girls self-righteous prigs by having their contributions to the settlement as far as possible grow naturally out of the activities of their own social life about school.

Reference has several times been made to the parents in connection with the social life of the school. It will easily be understood that no such elaborate social organization can be conducted successfully without the intelligent and substantial coöperation of the parents and pupils. The Parents' Association has taken up for consideration many of the features in the social organization described, has provided the money necessary to their inauguration, and each year provides the money necessary to maintain these activities. Through committees and individuals they come into very close contact with the social life of the school.

It is at once apparent that the conditions which make such a complete organization of the social life possible are peculiar to a few schools, and that the resources necessary cannot be secured in most public, and many private, secondary schools. However, at the first, no one foresaw the full development of the elaborate organization in the University High School. The present condition has been an evolution which began in the idea that it was the function of the high school to provide for the training of the pupil's whole nature, followed by a determined effort to make this idea effective. With the same idea and determination any school, whatever its situation or circumstances, may at once begin to make effective those agencies which, as no others in our public school can, train boys and girls to become morally self-reliant men and women.

F. W. Johnson, reprinted from *The School Review*. December, 1909.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. State fully the reasons for regarding the school as a social group. What view of the school does traditional school practice seem to be based upon?

2. Contrast the views of LeBon and Cooley as means of interpreting the school life. Do both have a place; or is one or the other pathological?

3. Opportunities afforded by the school for the development of "primary ideals." Obstacles in the school to their development.

4. What can you say of the desirability of developing and conserving a social life of a school as a whole? Explain the English "House system" as a means. Its adaptation to large schools of the American type. See Findlay. Consider also the Abbottsholme School described by Scott.

5. Relation of subsidiary organizations to the general school life.
6. What are the social objections to the secret fraternity in the high school?
7. Justify if you can the ideal that the school should provide for the social as well as the intellectual development of children.
8. How would you meet the objection that there is already too much social life in the school?
9. What aspects of the social life of the school can you distinguish aside from what may find expression in parties and other functions?

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CHAPTER XVI

DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT OF SCHOOLS

Our Schools are Monarchies. — We live in a democracy. Our schools, therefore, should be democracies, but they are not. They are monarchies. The teacher is the monarch, the pupil the subject. Like the subjects of all monarchies they feel no responsibility for the order and conduct of the community in which they live. It is the duty of the ruler — the monarch — the teacher, to see that law and order are maintained; that wrongs are righted in the community by those who belong to the "governing classes." Yet we call this fitting for citizenship in a democratic form of government! Is it any wonder that we are beginning to feel that our schools are not doing their duty in this education, fitting for citizenship? If there is any excuse for public education at all, it is to fit pupils for these duties and responsibilities that are delegated to all the people in a democratic form of government.

The schools of two hundred years ago, which are still the models for school governments, were the schools for the training of the individual for his own advantage — not for the good of the state. We have discarded the monarchical government of the nation for the democratic, but we still cling to the old monarchical school government. . . .

We have, it is true, modified its severity somewhat. The rod has been nearly or quite discarded. Moral suasion has taken a more prominent place, yet with all these changes it is still a monarchy. The future citizens of the republic — the pupils — have never been asked to begin here to learn their citizen duties. They grow up feeling that they have no duties beyond getting their lessons. The teacher is still responsible for conduct, for the restraining of the wayward or thoughtless, for the enforcement of rules and regulations that are for the good of all.

All this should be radically changed. *The pupils should be taught to participate in the government of the school as they afterwards must in the government of the community and state. The pupils should feel that they have a public duty in the school community as they will later have in the adult community.* They should be carefully trained in school life to see their relations to law and order and their enforcement in the school, as they must later see them in adult life, if they do their duty as law-abiding and law-enforcing citizens.

This does not mean pupil government, but pupils assisting in school government. It does not necessarily mean the substitution of some elaborate plan of "Pupil City" government, or any other form of the modern machinery of government. Indeed, the writer, after sixteen years of experimenting on the subject, believes that any such radical change will, in most cases, fail. What is needed is some simple plan that will have the minimum of the forms and officers of modern city, state or nation as models for government, *with a maximum of individual education in the personal duties of the public towards the control of himself and the school.*

Let the pupils be delegated such simple duties for the preservation of good order, honesty of work, and the general welfare of the school, as they are willing to assume. Let them be stimulated to exercise an influence for right conduct in others and be taught clearly to see how *such conduct — good or bad — does concern them, and that they should not be passively submissive or indifferent to wrong acts.* Let them, above all, be taught to get control of themselves — to *"Do Right" without being watched or told to do it.* . . .

In most schools the teacher stands alone as the representative of good conduct and order, and has arrayed against him all the vicious and bad element of the school. It is true, there is in every school an element which is neutral, pupils whose natural tendencies and training lead them to do right, or to be disposed to do right. They are, however, not inclined to take sides. They are mere "lookers-on in Venice." They are not led to believe that they have a duty or even a right to take sides in the never ending contest. They know that the teacher must have order and obedience if he properly conducts the school. They also feel a degree of sympathy and even admiration for the fellow-pupil who is disposed to have fun and to disobey the rules or quietly outwit or deceive the teacher. They even have quiet admiration for the boy or girl who has the "nerve" to disobey orders or to do disorderly and annoying things. When that bad boy expects them to hide from the teacher his misdeeds, they readily lend themselves to their classmate's wishes. Thus it turns out that the pupils are, as a matter of fact, all arraigned against the teacher, the majority by remaining passive in their influence, and the remainder more or less active — openly or secretly — by doing disorderly, dishonest or annoying things.

We say the government and order is more or less good, according as this neutral class is large or small in proportion to the active class. The teacher's ability to govern well is measurably his tact and firmness in keeping this actively bad class in reasonable subjection. As a rule he does it unaided by any sympathy or systematic assistance from the neutral class. . . .

The Defect of Military Government. — No matter what guise it takes, it presupposes officers of some kind in authority, responsible for conduct, thinking for the student, watching the student. The pupil is no longer a free agent being taught to be responsible for his own acts. He is an automaton with only volition enough left in him to obey orders, to stop and start and step when told to and in unison with others. All responsibility for order, conduct and general movements rest on those in authority, whether these be members of the faculty or persons chosen from the body of the students. In such schools the "lock step" prevails, both in a physical and a mental sense. Individuality of thought and action and volition is lost. The responsibility in all such military forms of control rests with the few, the teacher or officer; the many — the masses — are left untrained in "the habit of responsibility" so essential to the true citizen.

No amount of education or ordinary literary training will give this habit of personal self-control and the "habit of responsibility" in the control of others. It must be begun in youth, upon the child's entrance into the community life of the school. There let him be carefully trained to think and act for himself as freely as we expect him to do in his intellectual development. Let him have as few bosses over him, either pupils or teachers, as possible. Compel him to think and act for himself, and be responsible for his own acts in all his social relations with his schoolmates. Let not some one think and act for him, in things that he knows well he should do, or refrain from doing. Let him learn that liberty is not license. Let him learn during every day of his school life that he is responsible for his own conduct, no matter what his associates may do. Let him learn the habit in his school life of watching himself and his own conduct, not of being watched by others.

He should early learn in his school life that he must guard his own right and privileges if he wishes to retain them and enjoy them. He must therefore learn to influence others to right conduct; learn to make others respect his rights by quiet moral suasion and not by physical force. Let him be taught clearly to see that each is affected by the conduct of others and that all are, therefore, equally interested in the deportment of others.

The teacher should, as far as possible, throw upon the pupils the responsibility of regulating their own conduct without being continuously watched by her. Especially should this be true during hours of relaxation outside of the room. Encourage the children to organize for their own protection. Let them elect such officers as may seem wise to assist in regulating and controlling the conduct of pupils. These officers should only *assist*, the responsibility rests upon *all*. These officers' duties should never partake of the military idea of com-

manding or of relieving all others from the "habit of responsibility." . . .

Now, let us look at some of the things that are taught our children by our present way of governing and conducting schools. The little child comes to us ready to "learn to do by doing." . . . He naturally wants to participate in regulating the conduct of others as it affects him. His natural instincts are to do right and to have others about him do right.

The teacher, however, promptly tells him that what others do is no concern of his. He should do right himself, but not concern himself about what his neighbor does. He soon learns that it is the teacher's business to regulate the conduct of the school, not his. He must not even report it, — this would be "tattling," the capital sin in school life; so the teacher teaches and the pupil believes. Soon he learns that there is no one responsible for good conduct and order but the teacher. He soon learns that he need fear no exposure of wrong acts from his fellow-schoolmates. They hide his misdeeds, and he must hide theirs. The teacher is the only one to be feared when misconduct takes place. All learn to keep their own counsel, hide and endure the misdeeds and impositions of their fellow-schoolmates and let the teacher govern the school in the best way he can.

The good boy in this little monarchy must simply be a passive subject of the monarch over him. He is neither asked nor allowed to help that monarch in the government, as he should be.

Later, in the higher grades, he sees dishonesty in examinations and other irregularities of conduct, but it does not disturb his mind or conscience. His lesson of minding his own business and letting those in authority find these things out has been well learned. It will not only stay with him through the high school, but *through life.* He will not, as a pupil or a citizen, do wrong himself, but he has no duty now to the teacher, nor, later, to civic authority, to expose or suppress the misconduct of others. "It is none of my business what my neighbor does," says the self-satisfied citizen who is the product of this training in his school days. His civic conscience is dulled and warped in his school training. It never rights itself in after life.

Can any one doubt for a moment that the man in after life gets his ideas of his duty to the community, and to those in authority, from the ideas taught him of his duty to the school community, and to the teacher representing authority?

Will not the boy who cheats in examination make the man who will cheat the city on a street contract? Will not the boy who scorned to cheat in an examination himself, but sat by content to have his classmate cheat, develop into the self-righteous "good citizen" who takes no interest in having honest city officers, and who laughs

at the sharp city official who can line his pockets dishonestly? Will not the boy who openly does wrong before his schoolmates, expecting them to suppress it, make the brazen lawbreaker who defies public opinion and the law alike?

Will not the young man who thinks it right not to tell on his schoolmates, and who is allowed to believe so, make the future alderman who thinks it honorable to refuse to expose the briber who offered him a thousand dollars for his vote? In short, will not the man be what the boy was taught to be? Can the impure spring have flowing from it anything but an impure stream? As the child's community life is in school, so will be his civic life in after years.

What should school life teach the boy? It should teach him that he is a part of the school community — responsible for its acts, and affected by every act of his schoolmates. He should, therefore, be taught that the Mosaic law, the English common law, and the statute law of his state make it the duty of every citizen to testify when called upon; that hiding a crime makes him a party to it. He has, therefore, no right to set these principles aside in school life, either because of his own wishes, or the false idea of his teacher. He should be taught to see clearly that the restrictions placed upon his actions in school are due chiefly to the abuse of liberties by a few of his schoolmates, and he should, therefore, be directly interested in the conduct of these schoolmates. He should be taught to feel that the rightly disposed boys should assert themselves as positively and persistently for good conduct as the careless or indifferent boys do for evil. He should be made to feel that it is a duty to himself and to his school to assist in every way the securing of right conduct as faithfully as does his teacher.

These habits, in school life, can be secured only by enlisting the pupil from the first year of school in taking an interest in the active government and control of the general conduct of his schoolmates in their common intercourse. . . .

Organization. — All government requires some kind of organization. We believe, however, that it is a mistake, except, possibly, in high schools and colleges, to model the school government after the more complex form of city, state or nation. The *mechanisms* of school self-government should be very simple and direct. The government should be " by all, for all," — not by a set of officials, and the masses of the pupils excused from all responsibility. This is but shifting the responsibility from the teacher to a few pupils. The duty of *assisting* in governing the school rests alike on *every* one. The teacher and " tribunes " are but the responsible heads, to see that all participate in the lesson of learning to live properly in this first community life — the school. The pupils, by thus regulating themselves through

an officer of their own number, in time come to the habit of correcting most abuses among themselves without constantly seeking to invoke the higher power — the teacher.

For the same reasons, written constitutions for the self-governing school, and elaborate details of rules, regulations and duties of officers or pupils are of little value. "Do right yourself, respect your neighbors' rights, and have an influence over others for right" is the keynote of any successful plan of pupil government. Around this central thought pupil government in a school can be successfully built up.

Mode of Instituting. — A few practical suggestions as to the mode of instituting self-government of pupils will answer the questions of many.

The less machinery about any such plan the better. It fails often in colleges and high schools because of the elaborate system established. In a primary or grammar school nothing of the kind can be successfully used. The children are too young to either deliberate or legislate. The plan contemplates only the election of tribunes by ballot on the first of each month. This is in the hands of the teacher and is a formal affair every month. The teacher can make this hour the occasion for appointing other citizens, and discussing the general subject and the duties of the pupils.

Many make the mistake of attempting to introduce pupil government at once, without properly preparing the pupils for it. This is a great mistake. Self-government must be a growth from *within*, not something imposed from *without* by the teacher. The plan must be a growth, and it takes time for all growth. The teacher can stimulate this growth by surrounding the pupil with the proper conditions.

Discuss with the pupils the duties of good citizenship. To testify for the right; to discountenance wrongdoing; to influence wrongdoers to do right; to promptly assist in exposing wrongdoing to the proper authority; if personal influence will not accomplish it, show them that this is the custom and practice in our courts. The position demanded by law of every citizen is: to testify; to expose wrong; to personally obey the law.

The teacher's personality may be a large factor in preparing the pupils to take up the plan successfully. If the seventh and eighth grades take the right attitude, it is well to begin with these rooms. Their influence and example are the most potent, but the experience of some schools is, that these grades are the slowest to yield to the plan. Their habits are more fixed. The first and second grades will the most readily fall into the plan from habit. Do not make the mistake of exchanging the surveillance of the teacher for that of monitors or captains. If the pupils must still have some one to tell

them what to do, and to watch them, it might as well be the teacher as a pupil. . . .

Pupils' Coöperation in the High School Government. — [Where pupil coöperation in government in secondary schools has failed], the trouble is often over organization. We try to copy after the necessary complex forms of government of a municipality or a state, for example, and attempt to have their various departments represented in some way in the school. Besides the deliberative body, council or senate or whatever we call it, we feel that there must be a department of police, a department of health, a fire department, a judicial department, besides the necessary legislative and executive departments. Most of these are wholly unnecessary, useless and often burdensome upon the time of the pupils. . . .

Again the responsible head of the institution or the teachers, having started the machinery of student government, get the idea that it will take care of itself, and leave it to the student body to manage. This will not do. The principal of a school that gets any such idea must either abandon the idea of student government or abandon the idea that he can turn all responsibility over to the students, and thus relieve himself of it. The student body must be held firmly to the belief that this form of government is adopted only for its educational value, not to let the burden fall upon the students and thus make the teacher's work lighter. So far as the teacher is concerned it should not be merely a shifting of responsibility and work of government to the students, but rather a shifting of the methods of government and methods of teaching right conduct.

The teacher must constantly bring up before his students the practical questions that arise day by day in the social intercourse of the students. He must carefully discuss with his students the reasons for following certain lines of conduct; for establishing and enforcing certain rules and the necessity for this or that habit among individuals or in the school as a whole. He must have a watchful eye to every officer and see that he does his duty or is removed. He must privately suggest stricter attention to duty on the part of this officer, a less rigid and literal enforcement of regulations, to that one. He must quickly check by prompt advice to the students any tendencies in the wrong direction that the students, as a whole, seem to be falling into, whether these wrong tendencies be acts of omission or of commission.

The teacher must ever remember that student government is still a school for teaching government as well as any other subject. He should, therefore, no more abandon the careful attention of teaching students to govern than he should abandon the teaching of history or mathematics. Let the teacher abandon the teaching of history

and there will be no history class; equally, let him wholly abandon giving attention to teaching participation in government, and soon there will be no student government. . . .

Extracts from *Democratic Government of Schools*, by John Thompson Ray, Public School publishing Company, Bloomington, Illinois.

Some Facts about Pupil Self-government

After years of successful trial the pupil self-government plan of practical training in civics and ethics has passed beyond the experimental stage. It is employed in hundreds of schools in the United States to-day. Under various forms it is in operation in twelve schools in New York City. The principals who have undertaken to conduct their schools on this plan from the large idea of real, practical training for the development of moral character and good citizenship could not be persuaded to return to the old method of conducting a school.

Mr. Andrew W. Scarlett, of the Oakwood Avenue School, Orange, New Jersey, who has conducted a system of pupil self-government for several years, says: "The results have been most gratifying. Briefly summarized they are:—

"(1) A change in the attitude of pupils towards school authority. The new régime gives pupils an opportunity to coöperate with those responsible for the management of the school.

"(2) The pupils develop a strong desire to have things go right. The wrongdoer meets with indignation and discouragement from his fellow-pupils instead of sympathy and covert encouragement.

"(3) Pupils learn to discriminate between tattling and giving testimony, between muckraking and a righteous exposure of a fraud.

"(4) They learn that great lesson of democracy — that each one should be treated according to his own individual merits, paying no attention to his creed, to his ancestors, to his social position or financial condition."

Similar commendations from school authorities in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, Nebraska, Minnesota, Kansas, Utah, Arizona, California and Washington attest the success of the plan under the varying conditions of widely separated communities. In some of the schools the pupil-government system has been in operation continuously for ten years, and the principals are unanimous as to its indispensability.

The forms of pupil self-government are many, the principle one and the same. In some of the schools the organization takes the form of a pure democracy, in others that of a representative government; the

same spirit of self-reliance and responsibility for the common welfare that makes of school life an apprenticeship in good citizenship obtains in all.

With an organization of pupil self-government in the school the academic work is not altered save in so far as the teachers' disciplinary tasks are lightened, thereby making more effectual the teaching work. Emerson says, " We send our children to the master, but the boys educate them." The underlying truth of this is becoming more apparent every day. The child is coming into his own. And so we have growing up on all sides self-governing clubs, self-governing communities, self-governing institutions of children — all embodying the principles of democracy. The democratization of our schools is the need of the hour. Thomas Mott Osborne, a deep student of social questions, says: " We have as yet only just begun to develop the possibilities of democracy; it remains to educate our citizens by applying the Democratic Principle to our school system (still dominated by aristocratic and paternalistic ideals — the ideals of outworn social systems); to apply the Democratic Principle to our factories and thus solve the labor problem; to apply the Democratic Principle to our prisons and reform our ignorant brethren who have failed to adapt themselves to society. And these events are not afar off — they are close at hand if we but will it so."

It is an accepted principle of teaching that we learn to do by doing. This is the basic idea in empirical studies. The physics of the laboratory is as important as the physics of the lecture hall. Drawing, carpentering and other useful things are taught by practical work. The world's work is thus actually begun in the school " shop " and in the school laboratory. Why not in the schoolroom?

How is it with civics? — not long ago it was almost entirely confined to the hurrah of the school assembly and the celebration of national holidays, but as former Governor Hughes once said, " It is a very doubtful advantage to generate an emotion which has no practical use, and the emotions of patriotism ought to be stimulated with regard to certain important and practical ends." What doth it profit to sing the national airs, wave the Star Spangled Banner and laud the founders of the Republic if the children are not given an opportunity to crystallize their patriotic emotions into actions of mutual forbearance, helpfulness and loyalty? Pupil self-government converts the children's Fourth of July emotions into everyday actions.

Political developments in this country in recent years have made apparent the fact that the average citizen's sense of civic duty was at a very low ebb. Dishonesty in high places and low was laid bare in a wave of reform that spread over the land. Hardly a village escaped the prober's lance, and trickery and graft were uncovered everywhere

to the shame of the apathetic citizen. In the wake of such an upheaval there came a series of remedial propositions. Exposure and prosecution reached only unfortunate individuals; it did not go deep enough to reach the underlying causes that made the deplorable conditions possible. The supine attitude of the citizens in a representative government is the occasion of civic sins. Eternal vigilance is the price of honest and efficient government. But a temporary wave of reform does not change the habits of a lifetime, and when the novelty of exposure ceases, the people at large relax into their former civic indifference.

Students of social and political life are of one mind as to an effective remedy for the shortcomings of our body politic — only through the proper training of our youth can a lasting betterment of conditions be effected.

Good citizenship is a moral attitude and springs from the mind and heart of a well-rounded moral being. No amount of intellectual training solely will warm the heart to a love of probity, or quicken it to a desire for " The righteousness that exalteth the nation."

In that remarkable community of young citizens at Freeville, New York, the following episode, which illustrates that good citizenship is a moral and not an intellectual matter, took place: A good football player was unfortunate enough to be in the toils of the law on a day when his presence on the team was urgently needed; a session of the Supreme Court was held to consider the advisability of his parole. Arguments pro and con were urged without conspicuous success until a public-spirited citizen thus summed up the situation. " Your Honor," said he, " in most schools and colleges nowadays a fellow has to gain a certain standard of scholarship in order to be a member of any athletic team. Now, up here at the Junior Republic, our standard is citizenship, and if a fellow can't keep out of jail, he has no business to play on a football eleven." That settled the matter. He did not play. No amount of theoretical study of the ramifications of government could make possible such a reply; it sprang from a heart filled with a profound sense of the dignity and sacredness of the rights and privileges of citizenship.

It is such characters that are molded by giving children an opportunity to conduct their own affairs, thus cultivating early in life a sense of the obligations of every man to his fellows. The principals in whose schools pupil self-government is a factor invariably point out that one of the chief results of the system is a strong spirit of coöperation. Thus is created a healthy public opinion, ever ready to applaud everything that adds to or to frown upon everything that detracts from the honor of the school.

The claim is not made that pupil self-government is a panacea for all

social ills, nor a plan by which all school problems are solved. It has its shortcomings and its dangers, and they are neither few nor trivial, neither are they insurmountable nor fatal. Wise, constant, discreet supervision is the guarantee, and the only guarantee of success in this work. But those who have been conducting their schools with this judicious participation in the children's efforts declare that the returns in moral and civic training splendidly justify the efforts put forth.

The conspicuous success of pupil self-government in many places is proof beyond question that the principle is a sound one pedagogically. Is it not then inexcusable for public servants in the departments of education to dismiss the question after a superficial study of it with the verdict of "Impracticable," "Absurd," "Not worth while," "A beautiful dream, but an impossible proposition"? The day is not far off when an awakened public will demand of its officials the introduction of some system which will make effective the preparation for citizenship. . . .

It may be well here to review the chief reasons why a plan of Public Self-government is not in operation in every school in this country. A careful study of the situation has disclosed the following difficulties: —

(*A*) The principal and other supervisors are so harassed by a multitude of minor obligations that they feel that the time cannot be spared for the organization and direction of a pupil community.

(*B*) An equally formidable difficulty is the fact that with the present overloaded curricula teachers are strongly averse to the idea of adding anything to their burdens.

(*C*) The third difficulty of importance is an ill-founded antipathy towards the "School City" and kindred ideas.

But these, after all, are difficulties, and as such exist only to be overcome.

(*a*) Was it ever intended that the principal of a school should be a mere clerk? Yet how many there are whose sole business seems to be the adjustment and keeping of records. Should not the principal be the intellectual and moral leader of the school?

(*b*) Pupil self-government has but little to do with the curriculum of study. It is concerned rather with the relations of the children towards one another and towards the school authorities. Experience with the plan has proved that it so lessens the out-of-class work of the teachers that they can do more effective teaching work than under the old system of school government.

(*c*) The unpopularity of the School City is as regrettable as it is unjustified. In Philadelphia it was done to death by that arch enemy of education, politics. Where it has ceased to be a part of the school life elsewhere it has been generally due to a change among those having authority.

We come now to the objections to pupil self-government. These were gathered in a canvass of two hundred schools of the metropolitan district. The answers to them are supplied by a New York City principal who has conducted his school on the plan for seven terms.

(1) Pupil self-government calls for a mental development that children do not possess. Neither is it desirable that children should become "Legislative, Judicial and Executive." We want to keep them young as long as we can.

(1*A*) We have found the pupils of the sixth, seventh and eighth years, adequately and normally developed, able to conduct their own affairs — under discreet supervision. As for the contention that self-government induces precocity, it is unfounded. The children, both officers and citizens, are thoroughly normal, healthy and sport-loving Young Americans.

(2) It takes up too much time.

(2*A*) The actual time consumed by the formal side of the School Republic is ten minutes for election at the beginning of the school term and the time of three teachers per week for an hour after school; the latter a voluntary work of the teachers.

(3) Children, when vested with power, become arrogant.

(3*A*) Seven terms of pupil self-government have failed to bring forth a domineering state official.

(4) If men cannot successfully govern themselves, how can children?

(4*A*) No amount of *priori* reasoning can argue away the fact that children *do* govern themselves relatively well. May it not be one of the contributory causes of the shortcomings of our democracy that as children our people were not effectively trained for participation in civic life? Are we not now paying the price of the despotic schoolmaster rule of the old days? What preparation for living in a democracy was so ill-designed as the none too benevolent despotism of the birch-rod master? And even under the present system of textbook civics, what actual preparation is there for a life as a citizen? The science of number is taught by the use of numbers; physical training is carried out by a scientifically developed course of physical exercises; drawing is drawing, and nature study is pursued largely by a first-hand study of objects, but civics takes its place with astronomy in that it deals with things remote. The vitalization of civics calls for some mode of pupil self-government.

(5) In the last analysis the supervision necessary makes mere puppets of the children.

(5*A*) Not a fact. Judicious supervision exercised along the lines of friendly control without dictation serves the twofold purpose of fostering initiative and preventing the children from attempting too much.

(6) The machinery is so elaborate that the purpose is destroyed.

(6*A*) Yes, if the machinery is so elaborate, but it need not be, and it is not. Elaborate systems fall to the ground of their own weight. The best results are obtained along the simplest lines.

(7) The energy expended is not worth while.

(7*A*) If a wealth of school spirit and a splendid coöperative attitude on the part of teachers and pupils is not worth while, is anything in this world worth while?

(8) Pupil self-government is simply for show; it cannot take care of those serious cases, *e.g.* thievery, etc., which come up in every school.

(8*A*) This objection supposes that the entire government of the school is in the hands of the pupils. Rather is pupil government an auxiliary of the regularly constituted school regimen and makes the handling of untoward events a simpler procedure than usual.

(9) The children of our day are more in need of respect for authority than the exercise of it.

(9*A*) Why? The children of our day have been quickened by the inquiring spirit of our times and are quick to detect the shallowness of the autocratic system. But where they are trained to a rational respect for authority through a realization of the necessity and the participation in the exercise of it, their respect and loyalty become unshakable.

(10) In the economic conditions under which we live, our children need all of the knowledge that they can get, to prepare for the struggle for existence.

(10*A*) The economic conditions under which we live are extremely trying, because we have let slip from our grasp the power that rightfully belongs to us. The fundamental remedy is to teach our children the value of working together, reclaiming that power and reëstablishing the conditions of true democracy.

(11) Pupil self-government destroys one of the greatest influences of the school, *i.e.* the principal's and teachers' personal influences.

(11*A*) Through seven terms the principal and teachers and pupils have been brought constantly into closer and more efficient coöperation.

(12) The activities of pupil self-government are mere play and are recognized as such by the pupils.

(12*A*) Even if it is pleasurable, it is real play. The pupils consciously imitate the procedure of enlightened citizens, but find great enjoyment in it. Therein is its great value. They play, they learn, they develop, they prepare. What more can one ask of an educational device than that it molds character effectively and joyfully?

From a free bulletin of the School Citizen's Committee, by Richard Welling, No. 2; Wall Street, New York.

Comment on Pupil Coöperation in School Government

Our study of "primary groups" and particularly of the social life of the school furnishes the point of view from which to understand the nature and value of pupil self-government or pupil coöperation in government. The problem of managing a school is intimately connected with the fact that it has a corporate life. Government is always a social affair; that is, it always involves some sort of interactions between people, whether in a gang, a club, a school or a state. This is true even in those schools in which the teachers are autocratic rulers and the pupils obey, not as free agents, but because they must. It is even more thoroughly a social matter in a school with a normal, well-developed corporate life. In the former type of school the system of control is external; it is thrust upon the pupils from without. In the latter the control is internal; that is, it is one of the natural expressions of the school's corporate life.

As we have seen, all social groups exercise quite naturally and necessarily a definite control over the individuals within them, and they possess in some form or other what may be called an instinct or possibly an ideal of lawfulness. Without some authority over the individual and without some capacity to harmonize diverse interests, the group would soon cease to exist. Control and lawfulness in some form are basic presuppositions for all social life. Even the worst school, then, has at least the raw material for the higher organic type of social control. In such a school, the ideal of lawfulness is present, even though it may not be exercised for the highest good of the school. Likewise the conduct of each individual pupil is controlled in certain definite ways by the group in which he moves, notwithstanding the conduct thus produced may be far other than that most desired by the teacher. It is the fact, however, that there *is* a social control and a sense of justice, even though exercised on low levels, that has rendered possible the development, sometimes under most unpromising conditions, of student participation in school government.

The arguments for, and illustrations of, pupil coöperation in government are clearly stated in the quoted papers. It will be sufficient in this summary to emphasize certain underlying principles. There are two main reasons for such coöperation: First, it is for the good of the school as a whole, because the government thus secured is usually

better than that secured through the old monarchical system. It taps reserve springs of control of whose existence the autocratic teacher does not dream. Cronson says of one such democratically governed school, "The most striking thing about this school is the prevailing attitude of geniality and contented industry which seemed to fill the dingy old building from top to bottom."[1] In two districts of New York City where this type of government has been in vogue, it is stated that suspensions of pupils for misconduct have not been found necessary for several years.[2] In another New York City school the principal reports: "Under the plan in operation here each child feels a responsibility in the common welfare and a pride in the general progress of the pupil community. We have found also that the element of conflict between teacher and pupil — once thought to be an inevitable part of school life — has been almost entirely eliminated, and in its place has been established the spirit of coöperation. . . . The sense of common ownership of school property and individual responsibility for its protection is one of the logical developments of our pupil self-government.[3] In the second place, this form of government is most important for the pupils individually. Each one needs as a part of his education for future citizenship just the training that comes from genuine participation in a healthful corporate life with its varied social responsibilities. The development of character in the individual child is intimately connected with his social relationships. The control exercised by a group over the conduct of the persons composing it, to which reference has just been made, may have a very vital influence upon the development of character. Of course, in its baser forms as seen in the mob, the person is completely subordinated to the will of the mass. This can scarcely make for the betterment of the individual. But in its higher forms, group control becomes a great character-forming agency. In the school the power of public opinion to restrain the individual from wrongdoing and to punish him in case he has offended is much greater and more effective than that possessed by any teacher or superintendent. The books of Dr. Reeder and Mr. George give striking illustrations of this.[4]

[1] *Pupil Self-government*, p. 57. [2] *Report of the City Superintendent of Schools*, 1910.
[3] Public School No. 110, Manhattan, Miss Adeline Simpson, Principal.
[4] *How Two Hundred Children Live and Learn* and *The Junior Republic*.

That a school group does thus exercise a certain amount of control over each separate pupil is the best answer to those who contend that childhood and early youth are incapable of self-government, that those are periods of unquestioning obedience, of subjection to authority. As is made clear in the quoted articles, pupil coöperation in government does not mean the abdication of the teacher and the placing of full responsibility upon the children; it means rather utilizing, as far as it is available, the group control, instead of letting it develop along lines antagonistic to good order. It means giving the pupils such responsibility as they are able to carry, instead of giving them none at all. That the teacher or principal has final authority does not mean that the pupil coöperation is make-believe any more than a president with veto power is inconsistent with a democratic form of national government. The teachers must be genuine factors in the school group, sharing in its life and contributing their part toward making it what it is. Their part may be a preponderant one, but it need not rob the pupils of vital responsibility. It is a factor in character development because it makes the pupils conscious of the problems of conduct and demands of them the exercise of initiative and choice rather than dependence upon the decision of another. Unless such things are raised to the level of consciousness and made subjects of reflection, they do not become means of real growth in boys and girls. Proper ideals of conduct can be developed only through daily practice in evaluating acts and in choosing one thing rather than another. A pupil trained in the monarchical type of school may acquire excellent habits of conduct, but more than likely he will have done so little independent thinking and choosing that when he leaves school he will be unable to carry them over and adapt them to the needs of his adult life. In a school, on the other hand, which affords participation in the problems of government, the pupil not only acquires good habits, but also right ideals of life, and these he is much more likely to carry away with him from the school, and much more likely is it that he will preserve them as vital principles of conduct when he enters adult society.

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CHAPTER XVII

THE PERSONAL FACTOR IN THE SOCIAL LIFE OF THE SCHOOL

Personal Influence and Leadership

In our study of group, or corporate, activities, we have as yet not specifically raised the question as to whether they are shaped and directed in any great degree by single individuals. The question here involved is the large one of the place of the *person* in the social process. Is the apparently dominant individual really an important factor in determining a course of events, or is his seeming control over them an illusion, he being borne along in a current over which he has little or no control? Views quite the opposite of each other have been held by social philosophers. Carlyle, for instance, considered the great man as of supreme importance in history. His *Heroes and Hero-Worship* is a eulogy upon the part played by a commanding personality in shaping the course of human events. Tolstoy, on the other hand, held that the so-called great man is little more than a puppet pushed forward by happenings over which he really has no control.[1] An inductive study of social psychology, and of primary groups in particular, makes it clear that neither of these views is wholly correct. Every individual in a social group both influences the behavior of his fellows, and is in turn influenced by them. Each person adds something to the common life and takes something from it. The amounts received and taken are not fixed, but vary with time, place, and individual. A single person may exert a great influence in the life of a limited group, for example, in a family, a neighborhood or a school, but his definite contribution to the course of events in the great world without is very much less. In relatively restricted circles personal ascendency and influence are very real forces, and must be reckoned with. What Carlyle has to say of the hero is quite true within primary groups; beyond these narrow circles it has a rapidly diminishing significance.

[1] *War and Peace*, Vol. IV.

But even though Tolstoy may have been correct in holding that the great national hero has little to do with shaping the happenings with which he is associated, the problem of personal ascendency and leadership is not less real or important. The larger movements of society are made up in part of the smaller movements of the subordinate groups, so that history in the end may be regarded as the resultant of the influence of the dominant individuals of these elementary social bodies. Moreover, the problem of personal ascendency is particularly important in a social view of education, because the educative process itself is actually a primary group process. Whatever may be the influence of the single individual in the world at large, he is capable of being a vital factor in the corporate life and corporate activity of the school.

First of all, let us note how personal ascendency or leadership is of importance within the smaller social circles. As has been suggested, the dominant individual, or leader, is nearly always present in the family, in the neighborhood, on the playground, in the gang and in the club. The realization, within these groups, of the ideals of justice, of fair play, of lawfulness, requires either temporary or permanent ascendency of a few individuals. The very fact of intimate face-to-face association carries with it the need of a certain amount of control of the individuals concerned. The group as a whole always exercises some restraining influence upon the individual member, but this social will is apt, at times, to find expression through a single person who stands in a measure for the rest. The presence within the group of such a lawgiver is not of necessity inconsistent with a natural, spontaneous corporate life. In fact, it is often the leader who makes this life possible. If each one did exactly as he pleased, the conflict of impulses would almost certainly break up the group.

Leadership is, of course, natural and welcome in proportion as the leader is a genuine member of the circle, for in that case the control which he may exercise is recognized as an expression of the animating spirit of the group, a control coming from within and not imposed upon it from without. Lawgiving is easy when the one in authority has the confidence of those controlled, and this he can have only as he is in some sense *one* of them. The promoters of the modern playground movement find that it is of the first importance that a playground should

have a director. There must be some one to interpret and focalize the best impulses of the children, to start the games, to keep the strong from imposing on the weak, and to see that each child has his proper turn. It has been found that the children as a whole not only need, but desire, such a leader. He is in no sense a despot; on the contrary, if he is successful, he is quite truly an organic part of the corporate life of the playground. He helps the play group to realize in fact the desire for lawfulness and fair play which is already there implicitly. Playground leadership, then, is clearly not inconsistent with the spontaneity and joyousness that must be in all real play. In fact, this is essential to its fullest realization.

It is evident that the leader is a genuine social product. As a general principle, it may be said that whenever people assemble with the slightest commonalty of purpose, a more or less temporary leader develops. The conditions which tend to give to some individual this prestige or ascendency furnish an interesting field for inductive study. Specifically, the problem is this: What serves to constitute a leader in any group and particularly in the school group, and of what significance for the life of the school and for its work are the phenomena of leadership?

As for underlying principles, it may be said that they are both biological and psychical. The survival and development of most forms of animal life depend upon some sort of unified or coöperative activity. A class of animals, the individuals of which possess little or no capacity for acting in coöperation with others of their kind, is at a distinct disadvantage which must be offset by some other qualities if the species hold its own. Thus a nongregarious type may survive by having unusual reproductive powers or extraordinary fighting or defensive capacities.

Among all types of animals, including, of course, the human species, which have developed some sort of group life, whether for protection against foes or for securing of food, some one individual must almost of necessity take the lead, or set the pace or the pattern for the rest. Only thus could there be a high degree of unified, and hence effective, action. This primitive biological need is sufficient to account for the instinctive way in which a group of animals or of men, particularly in times of stress, will accept the guidance of some one of their number.

This biological need is, also, responsible in part for the development of certain psychical characteristics in social animals, such as imitativeness and suggestibility. In man especially the tendency to imitate the action of others is a highly important factor in binding a little group together and securing unity of action. While imitativeness and openness to suggestion are the conditions which produce personal ascendency, it is clear that to some extent the needed unity in a social group may occur without definite leaders. In fact, in all stages of human development there is a substratum of corporate life and commonalty of action depending upon the mere tendency of the members of a society, standing upon a common level, to imitate and take suggestions from one another. But a high degree of unity and organization of forces is not possible unless some one person acquires sufficient prestige to command the attention of his fellows. In that case his action becomes a copy for the rest to follow. It is not necessary that the copy thus set be of superior merit, that is, better than what any one else might have done. Its value rests primarily upon the fact that it focalizes attention upon some one mode of procedure. This of itself makes for definiteness, and hence for efficiency of action.

If it be granted, then, that the leader is a socially important factor, the question next arises, what gives him his prestige? Are the qualities which enable an individual to rise above his fellows and set the pattern for their behavior capable of being determined? In general terms, they are nothing more nor less than capacity readily to attract and hold attention. This power may, and often does, have no intrinsic relationship to the particular line in which the person acts as a leader. It may be merely sufficient for him to catch the attention of his fellows to render everything that he does of importance. On the other hand, the leader may actually have such personal power as to make him the natural leader of his group.

In attempting to determine the qualities which give the individual prestige and power over his fellows, it is worth while to keep in mind that there are two types of conditions, — the extrinsic and the intrinsic, or, as LeBon has it, the artificial conditions and the personal ones. Both types are means of attracting attention, and in actual life they combine in intricate ways. Even the true leader of men is not altogether independent of those accidents of position and circum-

stance which, though subordinate and accessory, are nevertheless often real factors in giving him prestige.

A few illustrations will perhaps render the above distinction clearer, and may perhaps help us better to understand the place and meaning of the leader in the corporate life of the school. Among the lower animals and, to a large extent, among primitive peoples, mere physical size, physical aggressiveness or prowess, are important elements in giving an individual prestige, and these characteristics are not without importance as accessories even among the cultured races. These qualities are first of all significant because they attract attention, fix the mind of the group upon their possessor, and hence tend to make anything he does or says seem of unusual importance. Prestige, however, unless it is based, in part at least, upon mental ability, that is, upon intrinsic qualities, will usually be quite short-lived. It will be remembered that Saul, the first king of Israel, stood head and shoulders above his fellows. Samson was reputed to have been the strongest man of his generation, and on this depended his prestige. The crafty Odysseus is an illustration of one whose prestige depended on a certain mental superiority. There have been studies in the origin of leadership among primitive peoples, but none of them can carry us back of these elemental physical and mental qualities which enable a man to do something that may help or hurt his fellows, hence something which they fear or admire.

An interesting illustration is furnished by certian Indian tribes which have no chiefs except in time of a great hunt or a war. Then the strongest, most successful hunter or the most intrepid fighter almost automatically becomes the leader. As soon as the need or the crisis has passed, he drops back into the common ranks. Among some primitive but less warlike races, prestige may depend in part upon property or upon the reputed possession of some mysterious or magic power. This explains the power of the medicine man and the prophet. Among some of the Australians there are no chieftains other than the old men, and among the old men the oldest has the greatest authority. But here, as elsewhere, mental qualities play an important rôle. LeBon instances name, social station, uniforms and wigs, as among the accessory or accidental elements of life which give one at least a temporary advantage over one's fellow men. "The burning

black eyes" of Mohammed have been mentioned as contributing to his power.

The great leader adds power of personality to these external advantages, a quality which one may attempt to describe by certain adjectives, but which is after all indefinable. Sometimes it seems to consist largely in unwavering self-confidence, an attitude which, if properly balanced, creates in others the attitude of expectation and readiness to take suggestions. If one can add to his self-confidence, forcefulness and definiteness in word and action, courage, dignity, winning power, his capacity to lead is still further enhanced. These qualities help in various ways to gain and hold the attention of his fellows. They might be summarized by the characterization of the leader as strongly affirmative in his attitude. He is resourceful and positive rather than critical or negative.

The power of a definite affirmation over men's minds is well-known. A simple affirmation is easily grasped, in external form at least, and, whether thoroughly understood or not, may act as a powerful suggestion for shaping conduct in a particular way. The critical faculty is not highly developed in the average adult, and certainly not in children. Hence when the reasons for action begin to be discussed, and even a desirable procedure is subjected to analysis and criticism, it often loses its hold on people's minds.

The man who leads his fellows is, then, one who has a clear vision of something definite to be done — is able to give a few good reasons for doing it, and rests content with keeping these persistently in the attention of his group. To attempt to give more elaborate or deep-seated reasons or to discuss possible objections, serves only to confuse people and destroy their confidence in the plan's feasibility. It follows that those who are preëminent in intellectual lines alone cannot expect to have a wide following, partly for the reason that their minds are too analytic, and partly, also, because their peculiar ability does not appeal to the popular imagination. A Newton or a Galileo, even though their final influence on human progress may be great, cannot even yet gain that immediate power over their fellows that comes so readily to a man of action. When a scholar does gain ready acceptance as a national hero, it is usually because he has done something which has attracted attention in a large way. Thus, in France, some

years ago a vote, which was supposed to be representative, was taken to determine who, in the popular mind, was the greatest Frenchman of the nineteenth century. Pasteur outranked all others. But it was scarcely his ability as an abstract scientist that gave him this prestige,—rather the fact that he had, in his discovery of a cure for hydrophobia, for the silkworm disease and for anthrax, rendered great social services readily comprehended and appreciated by the masses of his countrymen. A thoroughly competent and scholarly man, unless he has done something spectacular, can with difficulty secure election to an important office in a democracy.

In the preceding discussion we have shown that the power of the leader depends on his ability to command attention and inspire confidence. This is the fundamental condition even in the case of highly complex social groups, and, difficult as the problem seems of fusing diverse impulses and bringing them into effective action, it may often be accomplished in quite simple ways. The power of the leader often consists not so much in the elaborateness of the means he uses, but upon the insight which enables him to diagnose the situation and make use of relatively simple expedients.

The social effectiveness of a person is measured by his ability to liberate and coördinate the greatest amount of useful energy in those among whom he moves. The mere fact that a man gains power over his fellows through means that are gross and primitive is not of itself sufficient to condemn him. He may thereby liberate the maximum of energy in his fellows and actually lead them to the accomplishment of a worthy end. The real difficulty, for instance, with mere brute aggressiveness is that it is more than likely *not* effective in any genuine sense. A group of people may seem to be led for a time, may appear to be unified and effective, but as a matter of fact their best energies are not called into play nor their real purposes accomplished. They are rather dominated by an overbearing will, and, instead of realizing their own purposes fully, they become subordinated to the selfish purposes of the leader. Under such circumstances the energies of a body of people may be said to be exploited by the leader for his own aggrandizement. The power of Napoleon over France was of this sort. In no sense could he be said to have aroused or enlisted the true genius of the nation. He did not interpret his people, but seized upon

certain isolated brute impulses and exploited them for his own selfish ends.

Any and all of the means which tend to give a man prestige and power over his fellows are to be condemned if they are not used for social ends, if they are not used to help the group to do more effectively that which it was already striving blindly to accomplish. The true leader must be an interpreter of his group, one who helps it to a fuller realization of the best qualities implicit within it. This does not mean that he should be a mere time server, simply giving his followers what they think they want. It is too often that political leaders do not rise above such a plane of service as this. The true leader sees deeper than the popular cry and tries to bring to bear the awakened energies of his group upon that which is as yet only imperfectly realized, that which is still formless and incoherent, but which his insight tells him is the true, underlying self struggling for expression. The great leader thus stands ahead of his people and is yet in vital sympathetic relation with them.

These fundamental principles of personal ascendency have a practical bearing upon almost every phase of human life, and certainly upon the corporate life of the school. Not only do the phenomena of leadership find interesting illustration in this miniature society, they are of great significance, also, for the proper understanding and control of the educational process which the school is supposed to direct. Among the pupils themselves it is inevitable that there should be some with more influence than others. The teacher, also, by sheer virtue of his position and seniority, has presumably some ascendency, and the school could hardly be called a successful one in which the teacher is not in actuality a genuine leader of his boys and girls.

The same qualities which attract attention and give prestige in adult society are operative in the school, with perhaps greater emphasis upon those of the more primitive type. At least this is the case if the school society is allowed to take care of itself. In the average school the pupil of fine or strong physical appearance and of aggressive social temperament is quite apt to gain a decided power over his fellows and to determine in large measure what they shall think and do. One of the practical and serious problems of education is that of recognizing and utilizing to the best advantage this personal element which is so inevitably involved in the educative process.

When a school first assembles, certain pupils will quickly and naturally take the lead of their fellows; some one or more will dominate the whole school group; others will dominate the lesser groups of classes and cliques. If the children are largely unknown to each other, these first leaders will gain their power through the grosser, more striking, qualities which have the power to excite ready attention, such as strong physical presence or social aggressiveness, — braggadocio, clothes or some other physical possession. The general behavior of these pupils, their opinions, attitude toward the school work and sports, will be spontaneously imitated by the rest of the school.

As the school group becomes more thoroughly acquainted, there may be a shifting of the dominant persons. Those who first gained prestige must make good, or they will not keep their following. To make good requires that they should have ability that is real, even though not of the finest type. The boy must be really strong, really able to put up a skillful fight, accomplished in some sport as ball, marbles or jumping, or, as some have expressed it, able to show his companions how to do something which appeals to them. The girl must have real social qualities and perhaps superior taste. Here in the little school society all the principles of personal ascendency in general and of leadership in particular will be found to hold good. But, just because of the immaturity of the participants, if the matter takes care of itself, it is more than likely that the pupil leader will be of an inferior type, — that is, instead of his being genuine, an interpreter and organizer of the sentiments and impulses of his fellow pupils, he may, more or less thoughtlessly, merely dominate them and exploit their energies for his own selfish gratification or love of power. Every school, in fine, has many types of personality, some of which are bound to gain prestige and power, and the type which naturally acquires this power is not necessarily of the most desirable sort. A teacher's control over a school often depends entirely upon his ability to enlist in his behalf a natural leader, who, if left to himself, would ruin the school. It is a part of the teacher's problem so to develop and control the school's social life that the natural leaders may cooperate with him, and that the finer qualities of character in both teacher and pupils will have due opportunity to assert themselves in the school life. And furthermore he must so organize the work of

the school that all pupils will have some opportunity for self-assertion. All cannot be leaders in the narrow sense. But, all should have forceful personalities. One of the defects of school education is that it does not sufficiently develop individuality and initiative; pupils are too ready to be directed and led rather than to take the lead. As Terman says: "It seems that initiative and leadership are sometimes matters of habit. The habit, however, will develop only when nourished by self-confidence. If one is too early made conscious of one's weakness and shortcomings by stronger friends, the chances are that a chronic timidity will make the person a follower and hanger-on for life instead of a leader. It is essential to the healthy development of any youth that in something or other he should feel himself superior to any one around him. If leadership does not develop in youth, it is never likely to appear, or, if it does, only in narrow lines."[1]

The teacher, then, must seek for ways to give to each pupil something of the confidence and self-reliance that is inherent in the natural leader. And he should furthermore seek out the really strong characters and see that no petty circumstance prevents their having their rightful influence in the school group. But even the finer types of character must not be too far removed from the general level of the school. If they are much superior, they must have *some* qualities at least which will appeal to the whole school body. In schools with a healthy social atmosphere, however, it is not unusual for students of fine character to be the leaders in opinion and conduct. A particular illustration comes to mind. It was a small private academy of perhaps eighty pupils. The acknowledged leader of the school was a senior girl of good physical presence, an excellent student, quiet and dignified in manner, not openly aggressive, but sociable, sympathetic and tactful. She was the arbiter of public opinion and taste in that school. Rough boys acquiesced to her decisions, and there were few who had the hardihood to appeal from what she decided was proper.

Important for the work of the school as are the facts of personal ascendency among students, they are even more vitally significant in the case of the teacher. If a teacher is anything at all, he must be a man of force and a leader, a dominating personality in his school. That he should be such a power is not in any way inconsistent with

[1] *Pedagogical Seminary*, 11: 443.

right ideals of education. It is true that the strong teacher may be a benevolent despot, but it is not necessary that he should be. He may be the dominant individual in a perfectly normal, spontaneous school life. His dominance does not express itself by imposing his own ideas upon his pupils; it rather comes through helping them realize the best type of corporate life and by acting among them as an interpreter and coördinator of diverse interests.

In such a school there may be real participation of the students in the matter of government, real development of initiative and self-reliance. In fact, the best type of personal influence on the part of the teacher, instead of being a hindrance, is the most important condition for the development of these very qualities in the pupils. But, in the case of the teacher, as of the student body, there are wrong as well as right types of personal ascendency. As has been said, the true teacher must be an interpreter of the life of his school — ever endeavoring to bring it to a higher realization of its best impulses. This is what is meant by the statement that the teacher must be an inspirer, a person who can arouse each individual pupil to do his very best and who can, more than that, arouse the best energies of the student body as a whole. Of course, a teacher may fall far short of this sort of leadership. He may control his school by primitive means and be in no sense an interpreter. As Conover says: "Children may be bullied and tricked into order and a certain kind of attention; they will admire the grand manner and obey the voice and gesture of the charlatan, but their hearts are not won; and worse than all is the destructive lesson in the shallowness of man. It surely is better that a man should never have been born than that he should cause one of these little ones to lose faith. A child is a hero worshiper before he is a critic, and often an unconscious mimic of what he may afterwards despise."[1] And again, "One wonders at the apparent success of a man who is often harsh and brutal in voice or manner; and a young teacher will be thus tempted to assume the hardness he does not feel. Success of this sort is like the success of any other tyrant, and is criminally out of place among teachers of children."[2]

If the teacher is to be an interesting and inspiring person, the most essential of all things is that he should be honest. He who is genuine

[1] *Personality in Education*, p. 9. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

and sincere in all his acts and thoughts is almost inevitably attractive. What no one is interested in, is artificiality, and pupils are adepts at detecting it and putting it to scorn. We want our leaders first of all to be themselves. We give almost instinctive acquiescence to one who speaks a genuine word. Nor is this sincerity in word and life something the teacher can counterfeit, or put off and on at will. He must every minute be of a truth the character he pretends to be.

Along with sincerity must go belief in one's self and in the worthfulness of what one is doing and above all joy in the doing of it. A teacher who does not believe in himself and in the value of his work even to the point of exaggeration will not gain many followers. It is especially necessary for the teacher to be enthusiastic and joyful. He faces the difficult problem of building up new interests in boys and girls, interests often remote from the restricted native impulses with which they come to school. The average boy will not be convinced that arithmetic or geography, Latin or botany, are worthy of his best efforts unless he is taught by one who is full of enthusiasm for these subjects. His first interest will often be simply some of the eagerness of his teacher, imparted to him by suggestion. "The pupil believes in the value of the subject matter because the suggestiveness of the teacher's enthusiasm makes him see it with new eyes." [1] It is a dull person, indeed, who can work under such an ardent teacher and not begin to have his own soul fired with the same zeal. If in the ordinary studies the teacher must be possessed of a genuine and forceful personality in order to infuse his pupils with a living interest, it is even more important from the point of view of moral training that he should be such a person.

The principles of right living and of duty are not attractive unless they find concrete embodiment in the life of some forceful man or woman. Here, as elsewhere, the interest in, and enthusiasm for, ideals must be built up by daily contact with one who is already thoroughly vital himself.

The teacher, then, as a leader in the school group, must be genuine, unselfish, sympathetic and joyful, and yet with plenty of the forcefulness and belief in one's self which belongs to a virile manhood and womanhood. As one has said, we refuse to be helped by those who

[1] Münsterberg, *Psychology and the Teacher*, p. 317.

wish to do so from a sense of duty, but we readily yield to the one who makes us feel he is having the time of his life when he is assisting us. "Unless we heartily enjoy ourselves, other people will not allow us to improve their minds or their morals." The teacher who is lacking in these important qualities can do much by self-suggestion to supply his deficiencies, that is, by determinedly thinking right thoughts — by building up his personality through persistent suggestions of courage and efficiency. A person of weak, uninspiring presence can thus make himself over more or less completely into a real leader.

After all, the best account of the meaning of personality is to be found in the lives of some of the great teachers. What has been said of Alice Freeman Palmer must in some degree hold true of every real teacher. "Because of its combined variety and firmness (her) nature contained some provision for all; nor was it ever closed to any. She seemed built for bounty, and held nothing back. Gayly she went forth throughout her too few years, scattering happiness up and down neglected ways. A fainting multitude flocked around to share her wisdom, peace, hardihood, devoutness and merriment; and more easily afterwards accommodated themselves to their lot. Strength continually went forth from her. She put on righteousness, and it clothed her, and sound judgment was her daily crown. Each eye that saw her blessed her; each ear that heard her was made glad." [1]

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Make as complete a list as possible of the extrinsic and intrinsic qualities which give a person influence in a social group. Underline those which you have mentioned from your own observations. Consult, if necessary, LeBon, Ross, Larned, Cooley.

2. Consider the extent and the ways in which one might increase his intrinsic powers of leadership. Self-suggestion, its scope and methods. After reflection, consult Brown, *Faith and Health*, Chapter IV, Münsterberg, *Psychotherapy*, pp. 370–398.

3. Study President Hyde's conception of a teacher's proper philosophy of life. Might it be acquired and actually used by a teacher to make himself a real leader? *The Teacher's Philosophy in and out of School*, William DeWitt Hyde, Riverside Educational Monographs, 1910.

4. Study the lives of such teachers as Thomas Arnold, Mark

[1] *Life of Alice Freeman Palmer*, by G. H. Palmer, pp. 348, 349.

Hopkins or Alice Freeman Palmer, and attempt to state some of the sources of their personal power.

5. Look rapidly through Larned's *Study of Greatness in Men*, to get additional light on the nature of great leaders with reference to practical applications in the school society.

6. The significance of the "inspirer" in Spartan education.

7. To what extent must the qualities of the leader vary with the age of those led? Illustrate as fully as possible. Cf. Terman.

8. What elements of personal ascendency are possessed by the bully? What does he lack of the qualities of a real leader? Cf. Terman.

9. What are the effects upon a child or youth of being constantly snubbed?

10. Write out a brief analysis or description: (*a*) of a pupil of superior personal influence; (*b*) of a teacher of the same type whom you have known intimately.

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CHAPTER XVIII

THE SOCIAL ASPECTS OF MENTAL DEVELOPMENT

Introductory Statement

THUS far in Part II we have devoted our attention to the general nature of corporate life and its relation to the work of the school. We now turn to the study of certain facts and principles which may properly be viewed in relation to, or even as applications of, what has gone before. The general problem is that of the influence of the social group upon the character of the individual member of the group. This is a large problem with many aspects. The phase of it which is of most interest to us in this study is that which relates to the social conditions of the learning process, particularly as that process goes on in the school, and to the social conditions underlying the development of moral character. As a basis for the proper understanding of these matters, we will first study the social influences involved in the mental growth of the child and the final social character of personality.

Two important discussions are here reproduced as a basis for study of this subject. In the one by Royce is a suggestive account of the way in which social forces begin to play upon the infant almost from the moment of birth and continue throughout life. But not merely are our intellectual processes developed and refined by social contact, the very *personality*, the sum of all these intellectual and emotional activities, receives clearer and clearer delimitation through our contact with other selves. Growth in individuality may be considered as the outcome of ten thousand subtle imitations and contrasts set up between ourselves and others. This social basis of personality is discussed in the extracts from Cooley.

It is of some importance to have in mind in the very beginning of this aspect of our study the problem of the ultimate relation of the

individual to the social group. There are some thinkers who assume a complete subordination of personality to society. Both logically and historically, however, the two are coördinate; the individual is a center of energy, a creator of purposes. As he strikes out, he inevitably influences the lives and purposes of other people, and in turn has his own purposes modified. But even to start with, his purposes cannot be considered as antisocial. He may, it is true, react against the society in which he lives, but his acts are not thereby any the less the social acts. His very individuality gains its uniqueness and its force through the contrast set up by his reaction upon or against his fellows. In the study before us we shall attempt to determine the nature and consequences of these human interrelations, especially in the field of individual growth and education. That we shall dwell upon this aspect should not be taken to indicate a failure to appreciate the meaning or reality of individuality. It is the specific function of another science, psychology, to deal with that phase. In all the following discussions of social influences we shall assume that a high social development is attainable only as it is correlated with a high degree of individual development, that individuality is a real and primary fact, but that it is none the less a social fact, the very definition of individuality, depending as it does upon the presence and influence of others. As iron sharpeneth iron, so the countenance of a man sharpeneth that of his friend; that is, not merely a man's countenance, but his whole personality, are thrown into clearer relief because of his intimate association with others.

The Social Aspect of the Higher Forms of Docility

Man's response to his environment is not merely a reaction to things, but is, and in fact predominantly is, *a reaction to persons*. There is not opportunity, in the present connection, to trace with any detail the rise and growth of our consciousness of the human personalities with whom we are accustomed to deal. The laws of habit and of association are unquestionably of importance as throwing light upon the way in which we come to regard certain objects in our environment not merely as physical things possessing size, movement, etc., but as objects endowed with an experience like our own, and possessing a consciousness that, inaccessible as it may be to us, is still, in so far as we get its expressions, essentially intelligible and profoundly interest-

ing to us. It is necessary in the present connection, without undertaking in the least the task of a specific social psychology, to give some indication of *the way in which all our higher intellectual and voluntary habits are affected by this our conscious interpretation of the inner life of our fellows.*

The foundation for our whole social consciousness seems to lie in certain instincts which characterize us as social beings, and which begin to assume considerable prominence toward the end of the first year of an infant's life. These instincts express themselves first in reactions of general interest in the faces, in the presence and in the doings of our social fellow beings. Among these reactions some show great pleasure and fascination. Some, the reactions of bashfulness, show fear. This fear is an instinctive character, and in some cases may display itself in reactions of violent terror in the presence of strangers. But on the whole, more prominent, in the life of a normally tended infant, is pleasurable reaction at the sight of people. It is unquestionable that, from the very first, these instincts are subject to the regular processes that everywhere determine our docility. Our social environment is a constant source of numerous sensory pleasures, and by association becomes interesting to us accordingly. But, in addition to the pleasures of sense, which are due to our human companions, there are, no doubt, from the first, deep instinctive and hereditary sources of interest in the activities of human beings. On the basis of the general social interests, there appear more special instincts, amongst which the most prominent is the complex of instincts suggested by the name *imitation.* It is by imitation that the child learns its language. It is by imitation that it acquired all the social tendencies that make it a tolerable member of society. Its imitativeness is the source of an eager and restless activity which the child pursues for years under circumstances of great difficulty, and even when the processes involved seem to be more painful than pleasurable. Imitativeness remains with us through life. It attracts less of our conscious attention in our adult years, but is present in ways that the psychologist is able to observe even in case of people who suppose themselves not to be imitative.

This human imitativeness assumes very notable forms in excited crowds of people, in what the recent psychologists have called in general "the mob." A mob, in the technical sense, is any company of persons whose present set of brain involves the abandonment of such habits as have most determined their customary individual choices, and the assumption, for the moment, merely of certain generalized modes of reaction which are of an emotional, a socially plastic and a decidedly imitative type. Under the influence of such social conditions, the members of the mob may perform acts of the type before

referred to, acts which seem to the casual observer quite out of character in view of the training and of the ordinary opinions of the people concerned. Outside of the mob, the imitative reactions appear in all the phenomena of fashion and of transitory custom, such as any popular craze of the day, or the success of any favorite song, opera or novel, may daily illustrate. The most of people's political opinions, the most of their religious creeds, the most of their social judgments, are very highly imitative in their origin.

Side by side with the social processes of the imitative type appear another group of reactions practically inseparable from the former, but in character decidedly contrasted with them. These are the phenomena of *social opposition* and of the love *for contrasting one's self with one's fellows in behavior, in opinion or in power.* These phenomena of social contrast and opposition have an unquestionably instinctive basis. They appear very early in childhood. They last in most people throughout life. They may take extremely hostile and formidable shapes. In their normal expression they constitute one of the most valuable features of any healthy social activity. This fact may be illustrated by any lively conversation or discussion.

As a rule, the acts that express this fondness for social contrast, and for opposing one's self to the social environment, are, in their origin, secondary to the imitative acts. It is true that the instinctive basis for them appears quite as early as do the manifestations of the imitative instincts. And since this fondness for opposition is in part based upon the elemental emotions of the type expressed in anger, obstinacy and unwillingness to be interfered with, the instinctive basis for the type of action here in question may be said to be manifest even earlier in infancy than is the case with the imitative reactions. But while the instinctive basis of opposition is primitive, the social acts that can express such instincts must be acquired. And in order to contrast one's self with one's social environment, it is necessary, in general, first to learn how to do something that has social significance. I cannot oppose you by my speech unless I already know how to talk. I cannot rival you as a musician unless I already understand music. I cannot endeavor to get the better of a political rival unless I already understand politics. But speech and music and politics have to be learned by imitation. Hence, the social reactions which express the fondness for contrast and opposition must on the whole follow in their development the social reactions dependent upon imitation. This accounts for that close weaving together of the two types of functions, of which we have already spoken. The playful child already seizes whatever little arts he has acquired by imitation to express his willfulness, or to develop his own devices, or to display himself to his environment. And, on the other hand, a form of willfulness, or of obstinacy, in an

already highly intelligent being, may lead to a deliberately painstaking process of imitation, such as happens whenever an ambitious artist devotes himself long to training in order that thereby he may get the better of his rivals. In brief, the preservation of a happy balance between the imitative functions and those that emphasize social contrasts and oppositions forms the basis for every higher type of mental activity. *And the entire process of conscious education involves the deliberate appeal to the docility of these two types of social instincts.* For whatever else we teach to a social being, we teach him to imitate. And whatever use we teach him to make of his social imitations in his relations with other men, we are obliged at the same time to teach him to assert himself, in some sort of way, in contrast with his fellows, and by virtue of the arts which he possesses.

The full consideration of the social value of imitativeness and of the love of social contrast and opposition would carry us wholly beyond our present limits. What we are concerned to notice, in this elementary study of psychology, is that *the nature of these functions profoundly affects the structure and the development of the processes known as thought and reasoning.* We are also concerned merely to mention a fact into whose adequate consideration we cannot hope to enter; the fact, namely, that *all the functions which constitute self-consciousness show themselves outwardly in social reactions, that is, in dealings with other real or ideal personages, and are, in our own minds, profoundly related to, and inseparable from, our social consciousness.*

To specify more exactly the matters to which reference has thus been made: *what is called thought consists* (as has already been pointed out) *of a series of mental processes that unquestionably tend to express themselves in characteristic motor reactions.* Many of these reactions notoriously take the form of using, or applying, and of combining words. Now the reasons why our thinking process should so largely depend upon using words have often been discussed by psychologists, but at first sight they may appear to the elementary student of psychology somewhat puzzling. The general solution of the problem lies in the fact that *words are the expressions of certain reactions that we have acquired when we were in social relations to our fellows.* If we once understand how these social relations determine that character of our consciousness which essentially belongs to all thinking, we become able to see why verbal associations and habits should be so prominent in connection with all the thinking processes. We shall also be able to see what is frequently neglected by psychologists; namely, the possibility that *processes of thought should on occasion appear dissociated from verbal expression, although never dissociated from tendencies to action which have a social origin* essentially similar to that of language.

Our words are first learned as part of our social intercourse with our

fellows. As recent students of the psychology of the language of childhood have pointed out, words cannot be said at the outset to express to a child any exact abstract ideas. They are at first, as Wundt and his school have well insisted, rather the expressions of feelings than the embodiments of thought. The whole vocal life of infancy is primarily an expression of feeling. In social relationships it later becomes to a child associated with his socially fascinating feelings, with the sense of companionship, with his joy in the power to make sounds which others admire, and to imitate sounds which he hears others make. But now, in time, these expressions of the child's feelings become associated not only with social situations and delights, but with objects and deeds observed. The social utility of taking advantage of these associations is emphasized, in the child's training, by the behavior, and by the deliberate efforts at instruction in language, which he meets with in his elders. At length a stage comes when language is the expression of the child's wish, at once to characterize objects present in his experience, and to appeal intelligibly to the minds of his fellows. Now these two aspects of the language processes are never to be separated from one another, either in the life of childhood or in our much later rational development. A word, a phrase, a discourse, is always at once a response to certain facts in the outer or inner world which we attempt to characterize, and an appeal to the consciousness of our fellow. It is the latter aspect which gives language its primary practical importance. Language is not a direct adjustment to the facts apart from the purpose of communication. It is the purpose of communication that alone makes language essentially significant as a part of our mental equipment. But in view of this fact it is obvious that *language acquires its value as a means of characterizing facts through processes which appear, in the mind of one who learns language, in the form of a long-continued, a laborious, and generally a fascinating process of comparing his own way of using words with the ways employed by other people.* From the time when a child plays at imitating his nurse's words, or at hearing his own babble imitated, to the time when, perhaps, as a lawyer, he adjusts his arguments to the requirements of judges and juries, and to the criticisms of an opponent, he constantly adjusts his reactions, as he speaks, to the reactions of other people, by comparing his own way of behavior with the behavior of others. Such comparison involves inevitably *both* of the two great social motives before emphasized. That is, it involves both the motives of imitation, pure and simple, and that love of social contrast which has before been emphasized.

But now what is the inevitable result of all such activities? It is that the one who makes such social comparison becomes *very highly conscious of the details of his own acts*, and of the criticisms that other

people are making upon these acts, and of the feelings which these acts arouse both in himself and in others. But now it is at the same time the case that the acts of which one becomes conscious are also acts which one is also seeking to adjust to objects as well as to social judgments. The result of this twofold adjustment is precisely *the kind of consciousness which constitutes thinking.* For thinking differs from naïve action chiefly in this: When we act in naïve fashion, we are especially conscious of the objects to which we adjust ourselves, and of the feelings of success or of failure, that is, of satisfaction or of restlessness, of pleasure or of pain, that accompany these acts. Of the details of our acts we are not in such cases conscious, although our consciousness of our objects is unquestionably dependent upon the performance of our acts. Thus, one who seeks food is very imperfectly aware of how he moves his legs or his arms in walking or in grasping; but he is aware of his images of the food, and of his relatively satisfactory or unsatisfactory efforts to obtain it. The reason why the details of our acts do not come in such cases clearly to consciousness is dependent upon the fact that our sensory experiences of the objects in question are prominent, while our sensory experiences of our acts, just in so far as the acts have become habitual, tend to be too swift for consciousness to follow; while only our feelings remain, amongst our internal experiences, as the prominent accompaniments of the act. But, on the other hand, *one who thinks makes it part of his ideal to be conscious of how he behaves in the presence of things.* And this he does because the social comparison of his acts with the acts of other people not only controls the formation of his acts, but has made his observation of his own acts an ideal. For so far as he is imitating others, he is fascinated by the adjustment of his behavior to the behavior of others. So far as he is dwelling upon social conflicts and contrasts, he is displaying his own acts to the other people; and so he is conscious that they are observing him, and is desirous that they should do so. *In consequence, the social conditions, under which language is acquired, produce the thinking process, just because it is of the essence of the thinking process that we should become aware of how our acts are adjusted to our objects.*

The acts in which we express our thinking are not, however, exclusively confined to the process of using words or of combining them. The drawing of a scientific diagram, the construction of a work of art, the performance of an experiment, the adjustment of the playing of one's musical instrument to the criticisms of one's musical rival, or to the guidance of the conductor of an orchestra, — all these are activities which involve thinking processes. They do so because they are social adjustments of the type now in question; that is, *social adjustments, involving imitations and social contrasts, and including the consciousness of how one performs the act, and so of how it is adjusted to the ideal.*

Such, then, is the general character of thought; namely, that it is *our consciousness of an act or of a series of acts adjusted to an object, in such wise as fittingly to represent that object, or to portray it, or to characterize it, and in such wise that the one who thinks is conscious of the nature of his act.* Hence it will follow that all the special processes of thinking, such as those usually discriminated as conception, judgment and reasoning, exemplify this general character of the thinking process, and *result from the effects of* social stimulations. The process of contrasting my own acts with my fellow's acts, and in consequence of contrasting my own views with what I regard as the ideas of my fellow, this is the process which is responsible for that kind of consciousness which appears in all of our thoughtful activities.

Let us exemplify these considerations by a few words about each of the thinking processes which have just been mentioned. The process called Conception, or the formation of Abstract General Ideas, is rightly regarded as essential to the thinking process. General ideas are the ideas which we associate with those words that have an application to any one of many individual cases or situations. The word " man " or " horse " is a word of general application. The knowledge of what this word means involves a possession of a general idea of men or horses. Now of what mental material does such an idea consist? When it is a lively, or a highly conscious, idea, it unquestionably involves, in all cases, and in one aspect, some kind of mental imagery. This imagery may, in visualizing people, take predominantly the form of mental pictures of representative men or of representative horses. It may in some minds take the form of vague mental pictures corresponding to what one might call " composite photographs," such as the mind would seem to have formed from retaining in imagination the characters common to many individual horses or men, while forgetting the characters wherein various individuals differ from one another. But it is, nevertheless, possible for one who is not a visualizer to have as clear an idea of what he means by " man " or " horse " as the visualizing man possesses. And our more developed abstract ideas, such as mathematical abstractions, or such as our conception of justice, involve mental processes to whose portrayal visual imagery is extremely inadequate. One comes nearer to dwelling upon the essential characteristics which the abstract ideas of a horse or of a man must possess when one observes that *whoever knows what a horse or man in general is, knows of some kind of act which it is fitting to perform in the presence of any object of the class in question.*

The fact that too many psychological accounts of the nature of general ideas have resulted from confining psychological attention to the fragmentary images which may appear at any stage of the development or expression in consciousness of a general idea, instead of con-

sidering the total mental process which is needed in order to portray with relative completeness any general idea whatever, is responsible for the result that the traditional account of general ideas has usually missed this, their relation to our conduct. But if this relation exists, if *every complete general idea is a conscious plan of action*, fitted for the characterization and portrayal of the nature of that of which we have a general idea, the psychological question regarding the genesis of general ideas is simply the question as to *how we could become clearly conscious of such plans of action*. For, as we pointed out above, we are not usually clearly conscious of precisely those acts which have become most habitual, unless special conditions call our attention to their constitution.

Our answer to the question thus raised has already been stated. The fact that all our general ideas have been formed under social conditions, and that the ways in which we describe, portray and characterize things have been throughout determined by motives of communication, by a disposition to imitate the behavior of our fellows, and by a disposition to compare our own mental attitudes with theirs, this fact sufficiently explains why the *social contrasts and comparisons in question have tended to make us and keep us conscious not only of our own objects, but of our own modes of rational behavior in their presence.*

Meanwhile, the essentially *imitative character* of all complex general ideas appears in all our most thoughtful processes; namely, in our more elaborate scientific general ideas. Such general ideas are best expressed by drawing diagrams, or by going through the processes of a scientific experiment, or by writing formulas on a blackboard, or, finally, by describing objects in well-ordered series of descriptive words. From this point of view one might declare that *all our higher conceptions*, just in proportion as they are thoughtful and definite, *involve conscious imitations of things*. And these conceptions are general, merely because *the fashion of imitation that we employ in the presence of one object will regularly be applicable to a great number of objects.*

Our *numerical ideas* illustrate this principle very well. They are more or less abbreviated expressions of *the motor activity of counting*, and of the results of this activity. The geometrical conception of a circle as a curve that can be constructed by fixing one end of a straight line, by leaving the other free, and by allowing this end to rotate in a plane, is another instance of a conception that is identical with our memory of a certain mode of portrayal by which a circle can be reconstructed. In brief, *we have exact conceptions of things in so far as we know how the things are made, or how they can be imitatively reconstructed through our portrayals.* Where our power to imitate ceases, our power definitely to conceive ceases also. All science is thus an effort to de-

scribe facts, to set over against the real world an imitation of it. Hence the vanity of endeavoring to describe the process of conception merely in terms of images, without remembering that mental imagery, when definite, is always related to our action. *But it is our social life that has made us conscious of our actions, and that has thus taught us how to form abstract ideas.*

The mental process called Judgment is the second essential aspect of the thinking process. While judgment involves many other aspects, its essential feature lies in the fact that, when we judge, *we accept or reject a given proposed portrayal of objects as adequate, or as fitting for its own purpose.* The general conception, as we have just seen, is a portrayal which one may compare to a photograph of a man. The act of judgment is comparable to the act whereby one to whom the photographer sends the proofs of a photograph accepts or rejects the photograph as a worthy representation of the object in question. But our consciousness regarding the acceptance or rejection of proposed portrayals of objects has become critical, has come to involve a sharp distinction between truth and error, *because we have so often compared our judgments with those of our fellows,* and have so often criticized, accepted, or rejected their expressions, their attitudes toward things. Here again the conditions upon which the social consciousness depends have proved necessary to the formation of our thought.

The process of reasoning, the third aspect of the thinking process, is in general *the process of considering the results of proposed conceptions and judgments.*

As reasoning involves a constantly more and more elaborate *consciousness of the nature and results of our own action,* so again we see, from the whole history of the development of the reason amongst men, that *reasoning is a consequence of social situations, and especially of the process of comparing various opinions and connections of opinion, as these have grown up amongst men.* The whole method of the reasoning process has come to the consciousness of men as the result of disputation; that is, of processes whereby men have compared together their various ways of portraying things, and of taking accounts of the results of their own actions. *Nobody learns to reason except after other people have pointed out to him how they view his attempts to give his own acts of thought connection,* and to proceed from one act to another. Like the thinking process in general, the reasoning process develops out of conditions which at the outset involve a very rich, and in fact predominant, presence of feelings and of complex emotions. That is, reasonings have resulted from what were at first decidedly passionate contrasts of opinion; and the dispassionate reason has grown up upon the basis of decidedly emotional efforts of men to persuade other men to assume their own fashions of conduct, and their own self-conscious view of how

their various acts were connected together. If the process of conception is the formation of a plan of conduct, the process of *reasoning results from trying so to portray this plan as to persuade other men to assume it.* Persuasion and controversy, upon earlier stages of mental development, are always associated with passionate vehemence. The ineffectiveness of mere passion to attain its own social ends, the growth of ingenuity in the process of persuasion, and the gradual elaboration of social habits, formed through the successful bringing of men to agreements, — such are the motives upon which the development of the reasoning process has depended.

It remains here very briefly to characterize the highest and most complex of all the intellectual processes; namely, that one which has to do with what is called our "Self-consciousness" in general, that is, the consciousness which the Ego, the Self, possesses of its own life activities and plans. *The Self of any man comes to consciousness only in contrast with other selves.* There is no reason why one should be aware of his whole plan of life, or of his personal character, or of the general connections amongst his various habits, or of the value of his own life, or of any of the features and attributes which our present consciousness ascribes to the Self, unless he has had occasion to compare his behavior, his feelings, and his ideals with those of other men. It is true that when developed, this Self includes amongst its possessions all the states of consciousness that make up the inner life of which we spoke in our opening paragraphs, that inner life which we conceived as in some sense inaccessible to, and sundered from, the inner life of anybody else. But there is no reason why these states of consciousness should form, from our point of view, a world by themselves, unless we had some world of other facts to compare and contrast them with. And the whole evidence of our social consciousness is to the effect that it is by virtue of our ideas of other people, and of their minds and conscious states, that we have come to form the conception of our own inner life as, in its wholeness, distinct from theirs.

The conception of the so-called Empirical Self, that is, of the Self of our ordinary experience, is one which we find to be especially centered about certain of our most important organic sensations, and also centered about those feelings of pleasure, pain, restlessness and quiescence, which are most persistent and prominent in our lives. But the mere possession of these organic sensations and feelings is not sufficient to explain why we regard them as peculiarly belonging to the Self. It is only when we see the importance that our social life without fellows has given to these organic sensations that we recognize how we first have come to contrast our own experience with what we for various reasons conceive to be the inner experiences of other people, and then, by virtue of the prominence which our social contrasts and oppositions

give to these organic sensations, have come to regard them as especially the immediate expression of our independence, and of that which keeps us apart from all other selves.

That the Self comes to consciousness in normal cases only in connection with organized plans of conduct, is obvious from what has already been said. Our social self-consciousness leads us to form such plans, and to compare them with those of other people. Our consciousness of ourselves as personalities is therefore simply an extreme instance of that relation between social consciousness and the higher intellectual development which we have already set forth in our account of the general nature of thought.

Reprinted from J. Royce, *Outlines of Psychology*, Chapter XII.

The Social Basis of Personality

The social self is simply any idea, or system of ideas, drawn from the communicative life, that the mind cherishes as its own. Self-feeling has its chief scope *within* the general life, not outside of it, the special endeavor or tendency of which it is the emotional aspect finding its principal field of exercises in a world of personal forces, reflected in the mind by a world of personal impressions.

As connected with the thought of other persons it is always a consciousness of the peculiar or differentiated aspect of one's life, because that is the aspect that has to be sustained by purpose and endeavor, and its more aggressive forms tend to attach themselves to whatever one finds to be at once congenial to one's own tendencies and at variance with those of others with whom one is in mental contact. It is here that they are most needed to serve their function of stimulating characteristic activity, of fostering those personal variations which the general plan of life seems to require. Heaven, says Shakespeare, doth divide

> "The state of man in divers functions,
> Setting endeavor in continual motion,"

and self-feeling is one of the means by which this diversity is achieved.

Agreeably to this view we find that the aggressive self manifests itself most conspicuously in an appropriativeness of objects of common desire, corresponding to the individual's need of power over such objects to secure his own peculiar development and to the danger of opposition from others who also need them. And this extends from material objects to lay hold, in the same spirit, of the attentions and affections of other people, of all sorts of plans and ambitions, including the noblest special purposes the mind can entertain, and indeed of any conceivable idea which may come to seem a part of

one's life and in need of assertion against some one else. The attempt to limit the word "self" and its derivatives to the lower aims of personality is quite arbitrary; at variance with common sense as expressed by the emphatic use of "I" in connection with the sense of duty and other high motives, and unphilosophical as ignoring the function of the self as the organ of specialized endeavor of higher as well as lower kinds.

That the "I" of common speech has a meaning which includes some sort of reference to other persons is involved in the very fact that the word and the ideas it stands for are phenomena of language and the communicative life. It is doubtful whether it is possible to use language at all without thinking more or less distinctly of some one else, and certainly the things to which we give names and which have a large place in reflective thought are almost always those which are impressed upon us by our contact with other people. Where there is no communication, there can be no nomenclature and no developed thought. What we call "me," "mine," or "myself" is, then, not something separate from the general life, but the most interesting part of it, a part whose interest arises from the very fact that it is both general and individual. That is, we care for it just because it is that phase of the mind that is living and striving in the common life, trying to impress itself upon the minds of others. "I" is a militant social tendency, working to hold and enlarge its place in the general current of tendencies. So far as it can, it waxes, as all life does. To think of it as apart from society is a palpable absurdity of which no one could be guilty who really *saw* it as a fact of life.

> "Der Mensch erkennt sich nur im Menschen, nur
> Das Leben lehret jedem was er sei."[1]

If a thing has no relation to others of which one is conscious, he is unlikely to think of it at all, and if he does think of it he cannot, it seems to me, regard it as emphatically *his*. The appropriative sense is always the shadow, as it were, of the common life, and when we have it, we have a sense of the latter in connection with it. Thus, if we think of a secluded part of the woods as "ours," it is because we think, also, that others do not go there. As regards the body I doubt if we have a vivid my-feeling about any part of it which is not thought of, however vaguely, as having some actual or possible reference to some one else. Intense self-consciousness regarding it arises along with instincts or experiences which connect it with the thought of others. Internal organs, like the liver, are not thought of as peculiarly ours unless we are trying to communicate something

[1] "Only in man does man know himself; life alone teaches each one what he is." — Goethe, *Tasso*, Act 2, Scene 3.

regarding them, as, for instance, when they are giving us trouble and we are trying to get sympathy.

"I," then, is not all of the mind, but a peculiarly central, vigorous, and well-knit portion of it, not separate from the rest, but gradually merging into it, and yet having a certain practical distinctness, so that a man generally shows clearly enough by his language and behavior what his "I" is as distinguished from thoughts he does not appropriate. It may be thought of, as already suggested, under the analogy of a central colored area on a lighted wall. It might also, and perhaps more justly, be compared to the nucleus of a living cell, not altogether separate from the surrounding matter, out of which indeed it is formed, but more active and definitely organized.

The reference to other persons involved in the sense of self may be distinct and particular, as when a boy is ashamed to have his mother catch him at something she has forbidden, or it may be vague and general, as when one is ashamed to do something which only his conscience, expressing his sense of social responsibility, detects and disapproves; but it is always there. There is no sense of "I," as in pride or shame, without its correlative sense of you, or he, or they. Even the miser gloating over his hidden gold can feel the "mine" only as he is aware of the world of men over whom he has secret power; and the case is very similar with all kinds of hidden treasure. Many painters, sculptors, and writers have loved to withhold their work from the world, fondling it in seclusion until they were quite done with it; but the delight in this, as in all secrets, depends upon a sense of value of what is concealed.

In a very large and interesting class of cases the social reference takes the form of a somewhat definite imagination of how one's self — that is, any idea he appropriates — appears in a particular mind, and the kind of self-feeling one has is determined by the attitude toward this attributed to that other mind. A social self of this sort might be called the reflected or looking-glass self:—

> "Each to each a looking-glass
> Reflects the other that doth pass."

As we see our face, figure and dress in the glass, and are interested in them because they are ours, and pleased or otherwise with them according as they do or do not answer to what we should like them to be; so in imagination we perceive in another's mind some thought of our appearance, manners, aims, deeds, character, friends, and so on, and are variously affected by it.

A self-idea of this sort seems to have three principal elements; the imagination of our appearance to the other person; the imagination of his judgment of that appearance, and some sort of self-feeling,

such as pride or mortification. The comparison with a looking-glass hardly suggests the second element, the imagined judgment, which is quite essential. The thing that moves us to pride or shame is not the mere mechanical reflection of ourselves, but an imputed sentiment, the imagined effect of this reflection upon another's mind. This is evident from the fact that the character and weight of that other, in whose mind we see ourselves, makes all the difference with our feeling. We are ashamed to seem evasive in the presence of a straightforward man, cowardly in the presence of a brave one, gross in the eyes of a refined one, and so on. We always imagine, and in imagining share, the judgments of the other mind. A man will boast to one person of an action — say some sharp transaction in trade — which he would be ashamed to own to another. . . .

I doubt whether there are any regular stages in the development of social self-feeling and expression common to the majority of children. The sentiments of self develop by imperceptible gradations out of the crude appropriative instinct of new-born babes, and their manifestations vary indefinitely in different cases. Many children show "self-consciousness" conspicuously from the first half year; others have little appearance of it at any age. Still others pass through periods of affectation whose length and time of occurrence would probably be found to be exceedingly various. In childhood, as at all times of life, absorption in some idea other than that of the social self tends to drive "self-consciousness" out. Nearly every one, however, whose turn of mind is at all imaginative, goes through a season of passionate self-feeling during adolescence, when, according to current belief, the social impulses are stimulated in connection with the rapid development of the functions of sex. This is a time of hero-worship, of high resolve, of impassioned reverie, of vague but fierce ambition, of strenuous imitation that seems affected, of *gene* in the presence of the other sex or of superior persons, and so on.

Many autobiographies describe the social self-feeling of youth which, in the case of strenuous, susceptible natures, prevented by weak health or uncongenial surroundings from gaining the sort of success proper to that age, often attains extreme intensity. This is quite generally the case with the youth of men of genius, whose exceptional endowment and tendencies usually isolate them more or less from the ordinary life about them. In the autobiography of John Addington Symonds we have an account of the feelings of an ambitious boy suffering from ill-health, plainness of feature — peculiarly mortifying to his strong æsthetic instincts — and mental backwardness. "I almost resented the attentions paid me as my father's son. . . . I regarded them as acts of charitable condescension. Thus I passed into an attitude of haughty shyness which had

nothing respectable in it except a sort of self-reliant, world-defiant pride, a resolution to effectuate myself, and to win what I wanted by my exertions. . . . I vowed to raise myself somehow or other to eminence of some sort. . . . I felt no desire for wealth, no mere wish to cut a figure in society. But I thirsted with intolerable thirst for eminence, for recognition as a personality. . . . The main thing which sustained me was a sense of self — imperious, antagonistic, unmalleable. . . . My external self in these many ways was being perpetually snubbed, and crushed, and mortified. Yet the inner self hardened after a dumb blind fashion. I kept repeating, 'Wait, wait. I will, I shall, I must.'" At Oxford he overhears a conversation in which his abilities are depreciated and it is predicted that he will not get his "first." "The sting of it remained in me; and though I cared little enough for first classes, I then and there resolved that I would win the best first of my year. This kind of grit in me has to be notified. Nothing aroused it so much as a seeming slight, exciting my rebellious manhood." Again he exclaims, "I look round me and find nothing in which I excel. . . . I fret because I do not realize ambition, because I have no active work, and cannot win a position of importance like other men."

This sort of thing is familiar in literature, and very likely in our own experience. It seems worth while to recall it and to point out that this primal need of self-effectuation, to adopt Mr. Symond's phrase, is the essence of ambition, and always has for its object the production of some effect upon the minds of other people. We feel in the quotations above the indomitable surging up of the individualizing, militant force of which self-feeling seems to be the organ.

Sex-difference in the development of the social self is apparent from the first. Girls have, as a rule, a more impressible social sensibility; they care more obviously for the image, study it, reflect upon it more, and so have even during the first year an appearance of subtlety, *finesse*, often of affectation, in which boys are comparatively lacking. Boys are more taken up with muscular activity for its own sake and with construction; their imaginations are occupied somewhat less with persons and more with things. In a girl *das ewig Weibliche*, not easy to describe but quite unmistakable, appears as soon as she begins to take notice of people, and one phase of it is certainly an ego less simple and stable, a stronger impulse to go over to the other person's point of view and to stake joy and grief on the image in his mind. There can be no doubt that women are as a rule more dependent upon immediate personal support and corroboration than are men. The thought of the woman needs to fix itself upon some person in whose mind she can find a stable and compelling image of herself by which to live. If such an image is found, either in a visible or an ideal per-

son, the power of devotion to it becomes a source of strength. But it is a sort of strength dependent upon this personal complement, without which the womanly character is somewhat apt to become a derelict and drifting vessel. Men, being built more for aggression, have relatively a greater power of standing alone. But no one can really stand alone, and the appearance of it is due simply to a greater momentum and continuity of character which stores up the past and resists immediate influences. Directly or indirectly the imagination of how we appear to others is a controlling force in all normal minds.

The vague but potent phases of the self associated with the instinct of sex may be regarded, like other phases, as expressive of a need to exert power, and as having reference to personal function. The youth, I take it, is bashful precisely because he is conscious of the vague stirring of an aggressive instinct which he does not know how either to effectuate or to ignore. And it is perhaps much the same with the other sex; the bashful are always aggressive at heart; they are conscious of an interest in the other person, of a need to be something to him. And the more developed sexual passion, in both sexes, is very largely an emotion of power, domination, or appropriation. There is no state of feeling that says, "mine, mine," more fiercely. The need to be appropriated or dominated which, in women at least, is equally powerful, is of the same nature at bottom, having for its object the attracting to itself of a masterful passion. "The desire of a man is for the woman, but the desire of the woman is for the desire of the man."

Although boys have generally a less impressionable social self than girls, there is great difference among them in this regard. Some of them have a marked tendency to *finesse* and posing, while others have almost none. The latter have a less vivid personal imagination; they are unaffected chiefly, perhaps, because they have no vivid idea of how they seem to others, and so are not moved to seem rather than to be; they are unresentful of slights because they do not feel them; not ashamed or jealous or vain or proud or remorseful, because all these imply imagination of another's mind. I have known children who showed no tendency whatever to lie; in fact, could not understand the nature or object of lying or of any sort of concealment, as in such games as hide-and-coop. This excessively simple way of looking at things may come from unusual absorption in the observation and analysis of the impersonal, as appeared to be the case with R., whose interest in other facts and their relation so much preponderated over his interest in personal attitudes that there were no temptations to sacrifice the former to the latter. A child of this sort gives the impression of being nonmoral; he neither sins nor repents, and has not

the knowledge of good and evil. We eat of the tree of this knowledge when we begin to imagine the minds of others, and so become aware of that conflict of personal impulses which conscience aims to allay.

Simplicity is a pleasant thing in children, or at any age, but it is not necessarily admirable, nor is affectation altogether a thing of evil. To be normal, to be at home in the world, with a prospect of power, usefulness or success, the person must have that imaginative insight into other minds that underlies tact and *savoir-faire*, morality and beneficence. This insight involves sophistication, some understanding and sharing of the clandestine impulses of human nature. A simplicity that is merely the lack of this insight indicates a sort of defect. There is, however, another kind of simplicity, belonging to a character that is subtle and sensitive, but has sufficient force and mental clearness to keep in strict order the many impulses to which it is open, and so preserve its directness and unity. One may be simple like Simple Simon, or in the sense that Emerson meant when be said, "To be simple is to be great." Affectation, vanity and the like, indicate the lack of proper assimilation of the influences arising from our sense of what others think of us. Instead of these influences working upon the individual gradually and without disturbing his equilibrium, they overbear him so that he appears to be not himself, posing, out of function, and hence silly, weak, contemptible. The affected smile, the "foolish face of praise" is a type of all affectation, an external put-on thing, a weak and fatuous petition for approval. Whenever one is growing rapidly, learning eagerly, preoccupied with strange ideals, he is in danger of this loss of equilibrium; and so we notice it in sensitive children, especially girls, in young people between fourteen and twenty, and at all ages in persons of unstable individuality.

This disturbance of our equilibrium by the out-going of the imagination toward another person's point of view means that we are undergoing his influences. In the presence of one whom we feel to be of importance there is a tendency to enter into and adopt, by sympathy, his judgment of ourself, to put a new value on ideas and purposes, to recast life in his image. With a very sensitive person this tendency is often evident to others in ordinary conversation and in trivial matters. By force of an impulse springing directly from the delicacy of his perceptions he is continually imagining how he appears to his interlocutor, and accepting the image, for the moment, as himself. If the other appears to think him well-informed on some recondite matter, he is likely to assume a learned expression; if thought judicious, he looks as if he were; if accused of dishonesty, he appears guilty; and so on. In short, a sensitive man, in the presence of an impressive personality, tends to become, for the time, his interpretation of

what the other thinks he is. It is only the heavy minded who will not feel this to be true, in some degree, of themselves. Of course it is usually a temporary and somewhat superficial phenomenon; but it is typical of all ascendency, and helps us to understand how persons have power over us through some hold upon our imaginations, and how our personality grows and takes form by divining the appearance of our present self to other minds.

So long as a character is open and capable of growth it retains a corresponding impressibility, which is not weakness unless it swamps the assimilating and organizing faculty. I know men whose careers are a proof of stable and aggressive character who have an almost feminine sensitiveness regarding their seeming to others. Indeed, if one sees a man whose attitude toward others is always assertive, never receptive, he may be confident that man will never go far, because he will never learn much. In character, as in every phase of life, health requires a just union of stability with plasticity.

There is a vague excitement of the social self more general than any particular emotion or sentiment. Thus the mere presence of people, a " sense of other persons," as Professor Baldwin says, and an awareness of their observation, often causes a vague discomfort, doubt and tension. One feels that there is a social image of himself lurking about, and not knowing what it is he is obscurely alarmed. Many people, perhaps most, feel more or less agitation and embarrassment under the observation of strangers, and for some even sitting in the same room with unfamiliar or uncongenial people is harassing and exhausting. It is well known, for instance, that a visit from a stranger would often cost Darwin his night's sleep, and many similar examples could be collected from the records of men of letters. At this point, however, it is evident that we approach the borders of mental pathology.

Possibly some will think that I exaggerate the importance of social self-feeling by taking persons and periods of life that are abnormally sensitive. But I believe that with all normal and human people it remains, in one form or another, the mainspring of endeavor and a chief interest of the imagination throughout life. As in the case with other feelings, we do not think much of it so long as it is moderately and regularly gratified. Many people of balanced mind and congenial activity scarcely know that they care what others think about them, and will deny, perhaps with indignation, that such care is an important factor in what they are and do. But this is an illusion. If failure or disgrace arrives, if one suddenly finds that the faces of men show coldness or contempt instead of the kindliness and deference that he is used to, he will perceive from the shock, the fear, the sense of being outcast and helpless, that he was living in the minds of

others without knowing it, just as we daily walk the solid ground without thinking how it bears us up. This fact is so familiar in literature, especially in modern novels, that it ought to be obvious enough. The works of George Eliot are particularly strong in the exposition of it. In most of her novels there is some character like Mr. Bulstrode in *Middlemarch* or Mr. Jermyn in *Felix Holt*, whose respectable and long established social image of himself is shattered by the coming to light of hidden truth.

It is true, however, that the attempt to describe the social self and to analyze the mental processes that enter into it almost unavoidably makes it appear more reflective and "self-conscious" than it usually is. Thus while some readers will be able to discover in themselves a quite definite and deliberate contemplation of the reflected self, others will perhaps find nothing but a sympathetic impulse, so simple that it can hardly be made the object of distinct thought. Many people, whose behavior shows that their idea of themselves is largely caught from the persons they are with, are yet quite innocent of any intentional posing; it is a matter of subconscious impulse or mere suggestion. The self of very sensitive but non-reflective minds is of this character.

Extracts from Chapter V of *Human Nature and the Social Order*, C. H. Cooley, New York, 1902. Courtesy of Charles Scribner's Sons.

Summary and Comment upon the Social Aspects of Mental Development

It has been the purpose of this section to point out in a general way the extent to which the stimuli leading to true mental growth in the individual are determined by the presence of other people, and further, the effect of this social quality upon the process of education itself.

The importance of early social intercourse in determining the child's character was clearly recognized by Froebel, and in his *Mother-play* he gives abundant illustration of the way it may occur, even in the earliest stages of mental growth. We can excuse some of the artificiality and the symbolism that pervades this book, if we read it in the light of the fundamental truth here suggested. Froebel apparently thought that the attitudes of adult life were latent in the baby and that, if he were exercised in various ways, these attitudes would thereby become explicit. In a sense all of this is true. That is, the raw material of impulse *is there*, waiting only to be organized through the child's interaction with the social and material forces in

his environment. In each one of the sections of the *Mother-play* Froebel shows how the social environment stimulates the baby's activities and helps to organize them in particular directions. In the first "play," for instance, the mother holds out her hands for the baby to press his feet against. The *initiative* is within the child, he is already trying to do something, he is kicking in a general way, but the mother is at hand and furnishes a part at least of that environment within which he may try his first powers. She thus helps to give definite direction to his impulses and thereby to organize them into rather explicit reactions. The pressing of the feet against the mother's hands is representative of the way an increasingly large number of his impulses are conditioned and organized by his social environment. At the first, other people merely attract his instinctive attention, but soon, under their influence, his vaguely directed movements tend to fall into the channels that are more or less in accord with the behavior of the people about him. The rôles of imitation and social contrast become increasingly important. As Royce says, "The playful child seizes whatever little arts he has acquired by imitation to express his willfulness, or to develop his own devices or to display himself to his environment. . . . The social reactions which express the fondness for contrast and opposition must on the whole follow in their development the social reactions dependent upon imitation."

We are not here especially concerned with the nature or mechanism of imitation. We need only note that the baby *does* at a very early period begin to imitate or set himself over against various of the activities and attitudes of other people and that thus, in innumerable and subtle ways, sometimes obviously and sometimes obscurely, does his behavior become modified by the types prevailing in his social *milieu*.

The learning of the language of his associates is, of course, the most striking example of the influence of others in the determination of the development of the child's impulses. "Words are the expressions of certain reactions that we have acquired when we were in social relations with our fellows. . . . Our words are first learned as part of our social intercourse with our fellows."[1] The social utility of language is impressed upon the child from the start. The desire to express the objects of his experience and to appeal intelligently to

[1] Royce.

the minds of his fellows is the same thing from different points of view.[1] Through language, an almost infinite number of avenues of social influence are opened up to the child. By its help he can ask questions, give vent to his curiosity and, in general, discover what other people know or are thinking about. In this social crucible, by the help of the reagent language, his own ideas acquire shape and gain in substance.

It is no exaggeration to say that, in these early years, by these well-known means, the child acquires the foundations of all the important mental attitudes and feelings of value that are present in the social context in which he lives and moves about. At any rate the attitudes which he does acquire are definitely related in *form* and *texture* to the influences he has breathed in from his social atmosphere. We do not mean that in every case the attitudes must be *like* the copies furnished by the social environment. Not only can they never be exactly alike, they may even be markedly in contrast. But this very difference may in large degree be due to the influence of others. The changes due to social contrast, or contrary suggestion, as Royce and Baldwin have pointed out, are as genuine types of social influence as are those due to imitation. In other words, when a child tries purposely to be different from other people, and this is by no means an infrequent endeavor, he is not thereby escaping from social impression but literally acts as he does just because of this influence. As Royce suggests, a child's early mental life is a long process of comparing and contrasting himself with others.

Such, then, in general are the presuppositions for the importance of a more serious consideration of the social conditions of learning as a whole and even of the narrower aspects of the processes of learning. From the preceding discussion certain general propositions may be deduced; thus: (*a*) The motives for learning and the specific stimuli thereto are furnished by our contact with people; (*b*) The presence of a social context within which impulses may be put forth modifies in important ways the intensity and efficiency of such impulses; (*c*) The fact that the conditions under which impulse finds expression are social means that the product will, in definite ways, be determined socially. Putting all this in a single proposition, we may say: Our association with others stimulates us to greater activity in *specific* and

[1] Royce, *op. cit.*, pp. 280–281.

important ways, determines either positively or negatively the particular organization of that activity and the particular quality of the results it attains. A conclusion from the above would be that no adequate control of the process of learning is possible which does not recognize explicitly the social factors necessarily involved in it.

The above propositions have been briefly illustrated in the case of the beginnings of mental growth in the individual, but they have, as well, a general application to the accumulation of knowledge in the human race as a little reflection may help us to see. For example, rival interests in land helped to develop the first crude geometrical ideas; the necessities of commerce, social necessities, led to the development of geographical science. All the modern sciences show abundantly the influence of social interactions of various types. Every branch of human knowledge has developed in large measure along two lines. In part the problems have arisen in some one's mind out of the fact itself that there are other people present in one's environment, so that, whether the problems are distinctly social or not, they acquire importance because of their being associated with human life and need. In some measure the problems relative to the causes and the control of such diseases as Asiatic cholera, typhoid fever, yellow fever, are of this type. On the other hand, some of the problems of science have been more individualistic in origin, *i.e.* they have grown out of the curiosity of the individual rather than out of social need or social pressure. And yet because a number of different people happen to be *curious* along the same general directions such problems have more than an individual interest. Just because of their more or less general interest many different individuals contribute or coöperate in their solution, as has been abundantly illustrated in the development of electrical science. Here the problems had at the first no direct social origin and yet the product was distinctly a social one, for many different individuals contributed to the development of the whole and the discoveries of any one man would certainly not have been possible except for the work of many predecessors and contemporaries. In any case the average solver of problems can hardly abstract himself from some idea of social approval as he pursues his work. He cannot work long without some sort of audience, real or ideal.

Mere social intercourse is in itself capable of exerting a powerful stimulus toward the realization of problems and toward mental growth generally. We have already referred to this point in the case of the baby and little child. We may now consider it with reference to people in general. We are constantly taking certain points of view, and as we take them we feel that we must express them, explain them or defend them. For instance, a young man through reading and reflection came to the idea that the principle of free trade is not only more logical but fairer to the general interests of the country than is that of protection. It all seemed clear enough to himself as he thought it over, but he did not realize how imperfectly he really conceived his new point of view until he tried to state it to one of his friends. He then discovered with some astonishment that the mere statement of the free-trade doctrine in its abstract form was not of necessity convincing to one who believed the opposite, and that before he could hope to convince others he must clear up his own mind much further upon the subject, that he must organize his facts so they would be more telling, that ways of presenting them must be studied out so that they might not only be clear but forceful and unexceptionable. He was brought face to face with this necessity only through conversation with his friends, and *through* conversation he succeeded in clearing up and organizing his ideas where before he had had only vague feelings. This case is quite typical. As a recent author says,[1] ideas are clarified by the white heat of free discussion: nothing so helps one to know his own powers as measuring them with those of others. In endeavoring to enlighten others we find ourselves enlightened. True conversation is always reciprocally beneficial. "No matter how much you give you are sure to receive something. . . . The more you give, the more you have to give. Expression of thought makes it grow. As soon as you express one thought, a hundred others may start from it, the avenues of the mind open at once to new views, to new perceptions of things." [2] "On the wings of conversation the seeds and germs of new productions are constantly scattered, and the thoughts of one mind cause new thoughts to spring into being from contact with those of another." [3] "The inner being, the mind and heart, are nearly always shaped by intimate and familiar conversation, which, springing

[1] R. Waters, *Culture by Conversation*. [2] P. 41. [3] P. 42.

spontaneously and naturally among friends and acquaintances, operates unconsciously in forming the character, in inspiring thought, in shaping one's aims and ambitions, and in creating a desire for intellectual expansion." [1]

It appears that the ancient Greeks were the first to recognize the value of discussion in the development of meanings and the reaching of conclusions. Socrates and his immediate school are represented as depending altogether upon the exchange of thought in conversation in the development of their ethical and philosophical points of view. In fact, the very problems which led to the discussions were rife in the social order of the time. It was in the everyday street-corner talk, in familiar conversation upon questions actually present in their social and political life, that they finally came to formulate points of view, concepts of the good, of justice, of the perfect state and the perfect life. Although they finally got into the depths of philosophy, in the beginning their questions were quite concrete. It was not abstract goodness or justice that started them to thinking. It was the problem of how to live lives with more of the concrete reality of justice in them, or perhaps whether the just life was really practical and desirable after all or not. As they discussed such questions this way and that, definite philosophies of conduct were developed. The great work of Aristotle, as a systematizer and as a thinker, was the outcome of the seemingly endless discussions of his predecessors. His problems came to him along with many suggestions toward their solution through the repeated reaction upon them of other minds.

Socrates is sometimes represented as affecting ignorance that he might more effectively draw out and thus teach some youth. It is just possible that this was not all pretense, however, and that he genuinely sought to clear up *his own ideas* by inducing some unsophisticated mind to react upon his problem, or perhaps, even to find the problem itself in the naïve unreserved expression of opinion on the part of some young man (unreserved because the youth would not be abashed by any affectation of superiority in the questioner). But whether Socrates' ignorance was real or pretended, there have been people since his day who, though able to reflect independently, have found it immensely easier and more productive of results to

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. ix, x.

develop their ideas through discussing them with others. The prevalence of the dialogue form in the literature of philosophy may possibly indicate that the presence of even an imaginary social group tends to stimulate one's thinking. Many of our most important scientific distinctions, classifications, concepts, etc., have been developed, either in our efforts to justify or make clear our own attitudes to others, or through the mutual reaction of individuals upon a common problem. What each person does in a case of this kind stimulates his companions to further effort so that the intellectual conclusions are a genuine social product. It seems impossible for one mind to see all sides of a question or to detect all of its bearings. When, therefore, several people are active together in the solution of a problem, it often occurs that the most unexpected difficulties are unearthed and met. One can never know just how sensible his own ideas are until he hears the comments which other people make upon them. In developing a train of thought it is almost impossible to take a stand outside and view it impartially; it is too much a part of ourselves. Hence the need of friendly discussion such as social intercourse mediates.

If the interaction of minds in conversation and discussion is so potent in the development and organization of the ideas of adults, is it not possible that there may be great and unappreciated opportunities in conversation as a means of mental development in children? The prattle and questions of little children seem endless and often wearying, but everything points to this same insatiable desire to talk as a most important channel for securing in them healthful mental growth, provided, of course, the fact is appreciated by their adult companions. Too often the adult regards the talk of the child as *merely* childish, and when he joins in with him it is in monosyllables and with much patronizing affectation. But the child really *needs* and normally desires that his questions be taken seriously and answered candidly. He needs the reaction of his parents and others to his childhood problems.

Just as we find our own thought processes stimulated by the conversation of some people and deadened by that of others, so must it be with the child. He finds the same difference in the replies to his questions which he elicits from his elders, and in the conversation they

share with him as we find in our intercommunications. Sometimes his spirits are lifted up and expanded; sometimes they are completely flattened out. The parent can thus deaden or stimulate the spirit of inquiry in his child. The child can just as truly find his parent "suggestive" in what he says and in the way he says it as does the parent the words of some brilliant adult conversationalist.

Through the proper answering of the child's questions, and through talking to him about things within his range of interests, such results as the following may be attained and in perfectly natural ways: (*a*) His fund of available knowledge may be increased. (*b*) He may be brought to a consciousness of new problems and may be stimulated to grapple with them. (*c*) Through conversation his ideas may be cleared up and organized into natural and useful attitudes or systems. (*d*) All these are merely ways of saying that his whole intellectual outlook as well as his valuations and appreciations of life may be in this manner appreciably broadened. The information which one seemingly *gives* another to whom he talks is not really merely *given*, if the conversation is genuine, and, by genuine, we mean *mutual* activity along some given line of thought. The case is quite different when a person passively receives the information through a lecture or a book. It is information that comes to one in this way that is noneducative.

If intelligent conversation has such a place as this in mental growth, how cruelly perverse was the old adage that children must be seen and not heard! The distraction and teasing quality of much of the talk of children is the direct outcome of the failure of the child to find in the parent or companion any adequate response to his impulses and inquiries. Hence we are not standing for the proposition that *mere* child talk is of great value. The value arises only as it fuses with an appreciative response in some older person who is awake to the importance of his opportunity when he holds communion with the child spirit.

Scott, in his *Social Education* (pp. 180 ff.), gives an interesting illustration of how a child may, through conversation with an adult, obtain information that will be truly educative. A four-year-old girl is walking in the woods with her father and sees some toadstools which she calls "little tables." A conversation ensues in which the father does not attempt to correct the child's notion directly, but rather to

draw her out and to discuss with her the implications of such a view of toadstools. To quote from Scott: "Both father and child are working on the same stream of thought, and it makes little difference which of them expresses the thoughts that come. The father may express the child's thought, or the child may express her own. The father may even express his own thoughts in so far as they are not accepted authoritatively." In other words, where there is mutual interchange of thought, where there is genuine activity on both sides with reference to a common problem, the points of view brought out will belong genuinely to both parties. An idea which one person gets from another under such circumstances is not merely annexed; it becomes an organic part of his own psychical attitude because he is himself active in the same direction. Persons thus in *rapport* with each other constitute a psychical unity which is of the greatest significance for all types of mental enlargement.

"Children who have grown up in homes in which the talk ran on large lines and touched on all the great interests of life will agree that nothing gave them greater pleasure or more genuine education. There are homes in which the very atmosphere makes for wide knowledge of life, for generous aims, for citizenship in the world, as well as in the locality in which the home stands. Teachers in schools and colleges find the widest differences in range of information and quality of intelligence in the boys and girls who come to them. Some children bring a store of knowledge and sound tastes with them; others seem to have had no cultivation of any sort, are ignorant of everything save the few subjects which they have been compelled to study, and have no personal acquaintance with books or art or nature or the large affairs of the world. They have absorbed nothing, for there has been nothing to absorb; all that they know has been poured into them. The fortunate children have grown up in association with men and women of general intelligence, have heard them talk and lived among their books.

"There is no educational opportunity in the homes more important than the talk at table. But this educational influence must issue from the spirit and interests of the parents; it must never wear a pedagogic air and impose a schoolroom order on a life which ought to be free, spontaneous and joyful. The home in which the talk is prear-

ranged to instruct the children would be, not a garden where birds and dogs and children play together, but an institution in which the inmates live by rule and not instinct. . . .

"It is not the child of six who sits at the table and listens; it is a human spirit, eager, curious, wondering, surrounded by mysteries, silently taking in what it does not understand to-day, but which will take possession of it next year and become a torch to light it on its way. It is through association with older people that these fructifying ideas come to the child; it is through such talk that he finds the world he is to possess.

"The talk of the family ought not, therefore, to be directed at him or shaped for him; but it ought to make a place for him. If the Balkan situation comes up, let the boy get out the atlas and find Bosnia and Bulgaria; it is quite likely that his elders may have forgotten the exact location of these countries; it is even possible that they may never have known. . . .

"Talk on books, plays, pictures, music, may have the same quality of a common interest for those who listen as well as for those who talk. There are homes in which the informal discussion of these matters is a liberal education; and long years after, children, who were not taken account of at the time, remember phrases and sentences that have been key words in their vocabulary of life. . . .

"Children are part of the family and have a right to a share in the talk; do not silence them by the old-fashioned arbitrary rule commanding them to be "seen but not heard." If they are in the right atmosphere, they will not be intrusive or impertinent; perhaps one reason why some American children are aggressive and lacking in respect is the frivolity of the talk that goes on in some American families. Make place for their interests, their questions, the problems of their experience; for there are young as well as old perplexities. Encourage them to talk, and meet them more than halfway by the utmost hospitality to the subjects that interest and puzzle them.[1]

So much for the general significance of conversation in the process of mental growth. It is possible, however, as Royce has done, to carry the analysis still further and to show that the various psychical processes usually discussed in psychology as purely individualistic affairs

[1] From the *Outlook*, Nov. 14, 1908.

are definitely social in their development and depend upon social stimuli for their practical efficiency. This has been admirably done in the preceding extract from Royce. Social influences react upon the development of our meanings, of our appreciations and of our feelings in general. Our dominant habits are social, our perceptive activity is, in a measure, socially determined, and to some extent also are our organizations of ideas, that is, our associative systems, and our concepts are social. Of judgment, Royce says, in substance, that it is essentially an acceptance or a rejection of a proposed portrayal of objects as adequate or fitting for its own purpose. This critical attitude develops "because we have so often compared our judgments with those of our fellows." Reasoning, he maintains, is "the process of considering the results of proposed conceptions and judgments." "Reasoning is a consequence of social situations, and especially of the process of comparing various opinions and connections of opinion as these have grown up among men. The process of contrasting my own acts with my fellow's acts, and in consequence of contrasting my own views with what I regard as the ideas of my fellow, this is the process which is responsible for that kind of consciousness which appears in all our thoughtful activities." "Nobody learns to reason except after other people have pointed out to him how they view his attempts to give his own acts of thought connection." "Reasoning results from trying so to portray a plan (of conduct) as to persuade other people to assume it." Reasoning is a reduced conflict; we have become critical and sharp in our distinctions between truth and error because we have so often compared judgments with other people, have criticized, accepted or rejected their expressions and their attitudes toward things.

We see, thus, that it is quite possible to view the different elementary mental processes as phases of mental differentiation dependent in very important ways upon our contact with one another. They are certainly of this type, rather than spontaneous developments of the mind produced by its mere reaction upon the external world of physical objects. In other words, it is not only conceivable, but also altogether probable, that an individual brought into contact with a purely physical environment would scarcely rise above the mere feeling and simple apprehension of the animal level of intelligence.

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CHAPTER XIX

THE SOCIAL ATMOSPHERE OF THE SCHOOL AND THE LEARNING PROCESS

The Social Aspects of Learning

Introductory Statement

WE considered in the last section the general influence exerted upon the individual by his social environment. In this section we take up the more specific problem of the social nature of the learning process, especially as it occurs in the school.

It is, first of all, of interest to know that the mere presence of others in one's immediate environment exerts a marked influence upon one's mental processes. This influence has been made the subject of many experiments, the more important of which are summarized in the accompanying paper by Burnham. As he suggests at the close, however, there is a still wider point of view, "In a true social group the relations are more vital" than are those described in these experiments. This primary, possibly instinctive, susceptibility to other people is increased many fold when individuals gain that spiritual *rapport* with each other that is characteristic of true social relationship. The members of a school or of a class influence one another not in the bare elementary fashion due to mere proximity of one to another. They form rather a vital spiritual unity in which every susceptibility is greatly enhanced.

In view of this fact the student will find Mead's paper of particular value as a statement of the need of more definitely recognizing social motives and stimuli in the regular work of the school. We saw in the preceding section what an important part communication, social exchange of ideas, has played in the development of the race and of the individual. Mead points out that the average school almost entirely ignores this factor in attempting to train the child. In the extract from Dewey, certain of the traditional school studies are dis-

cussed from the point of view of their value as means of social communication and social development. In the extracts from Scott, the student will find an account of an interesting attempt to make available, in the practical work of the school, the social motives and group influences described by the previous writers. Scott admits that it may not be possible to do in all schools just what he has done, but his work is nevertheless most suggestive. Whether all the details of his experiment are generally practicable or not, as a whole it calls attention to a large and neglected fund of resources which, if utilized even in part, would do much to vitalize and render more effective the work of the school.

But whether or not a teacher is so situated as to put into operation some special device such as that employed by Scott, he can at least do much in the schools, as they are to render the work of instruction and of learning less individualistic and more social. This phase is discussed in the comment at the close of the section.

The Group as a Stimulus to Mental Activity

As the social instincts in man are fundamental, one of the most important factors of his environment is the presence or absence of other human beings. This cannot be ignored. The problem I wish to present is this: What is the effect on mental activity of the presence of a group of other persons, if studied objectively, like the effects of temperature, barometric pressure or the like? Perhaps the best way to present this problem is to recount briefly the meager but important results of investigations already made.[1]

Studies in social psychology have shown that an individual alone and the same individual in a group are two different psychological beings. Recent investigations show that the same is true of children. The child working alone is different from the child working in a class. A few years ago Dr. Mayer, of Würzburg, studied experimentally this difference as regards the ability to do school work. His problem was to determine whether and under what conditions the work of pupils in a group give better results than the individual work of isolated pupils. He tested the ability of pupils to work alone or in company with others, using dictation, mental arithmetic, memory tests, combination tests after the manner of Ebbinghaus, and written arithmetic.

[1] For reference to the studies mentioned below, see *Ped. S.*, Vol. 12, June, 1905, pp. 229–230.

Dr. Mayer's method was briefly as follows: a number of boys in the fifth school year of the people's school in Würzburg were given five different tasks as class exercises, and also each boy was required to prepare a similar task for comparison in which he sat alone in the classroom, only the class teacher or a colleague being present. The material for the tasks was carefully chosen and was familiar to the pupils. The pupils were representative of very different elements as regards school ability, behavior, temperament and home conditions. The number tested was twenty-eight; the average age, twelve years.

In general, the result of the work of the pupils in groups was superior to their work as individuals. This appeared not only in the decrease of time, but in the superior quality of the work done. In individual cases, the saving of time was especially striking; for example, one pupil for a combination test required ten minutes and 25 seconds when working alone, for a similar test when working with the group 7 minutes and 30 seconds; another, alone 13 minutes and 11 seconds, with the group 6 minutes and 45 seconds.

Dr. Triplett tested the influence of the presence of a coworker on a simple physical performance. His subjects were forty school children, and he had them turn a reel as rapidly as possible. The children turned the reel now alone and then in company with another child, in both cases with directions to turn as rapidly as possible. Two results were noted. It appeared, on the one hand, that pupils worked more rapidly when another child worked in combination; but, on the other hand, in case of many children, hasty, uncoördinated movements appeared which reduced their performance.

Wherever men are together, the individual is influenced by others without being aware of it. This is specially well illustrated by certain experiments in the laboratory. Meumann cites the case of a subject whose work at night with the ergograph had a very definite value. Accidentally one evening Meumann entered the laboratory, and at once the work done was decidedly increased in comparison with that of other days, and this without the subject's making any voluntary effort to accomplish more. In such experiments the subject always attempts to do his utmost, and hence the significance of the increased work done in the presence of another individual. Many examples of such effects of suggestion have been reported by psychologists.

Meumann, in experiments in the People's Schools, corroborated the results of Triplett and Féré in a striking manner. Seven pupils of the age of thirteen or fourteen were tested repeatedly with the dynamometer and ergograph. In case of the test of the pupils separately, with no one else in the room, the amount of work was always less than when others were present. If the experiments were made in the presence of

the teacher alone, the pupils did not do as much work as when they were all together without the teacher.

From all this it appears, as Mayer points out, that pupils in a class are in a sort of mental *rapport;* they hear, see and know continually what the others are doing, and thus real class work is not a mere case of individuals working together and their performance the summation of the work of many individuals; but there is a sort of class spirit, so that, in the full sense of the word, one can speak of a group performance, which may be compared with an individual performance. The pupils are members of a community of workers. The individual working by himself is a different person. Schmidt in his careful investigation testing school children in their home work as compared with their school work found that for most kinds of work the product in the classroom was superior. His results are to a considerable degree evidence in corroboration of the results found by Mayer. The child studying school tasks at home is relatively isolated; in the class he is one of a social group with common aims.

A noteworthy result of these investigations is the apparent immunity of children to distraction from ordinary causes. Schmidt found that the outside disturbances — the noise from the street, from adjoining rooms, and the like had little effect upon them. It was only interruptions that distracted their attention, such as conversation with others, that affected the quality of their work. It appeared even that a home task completed without disturbance might be poorer than the corresponding class work, and that a home task when the pupil was disturbed might be better than the class work. And from Mayer's study, it appeared that the tendency to distraction is diminished rather than increased by class work.

Meumann, in tests of the memory of pupils alone and when working together, found similar results. Disconnected words of two syllables were used, which were written down, pronounced once to the pupils, and then written down immediately by them from memory. It would naturally be supposed that the children working in the classroom with all the inevitable noises and disturbances, would not remember as well as when tested alone. The result of Meumann's investigation, however, was surprising. While in case of children thirteen and fourteen years of age there was no essential difference in memory for the individual and the common test, the difference was remarkably large in case of those eight and nine years of age. On an average, with the individual test the children remembered considerably less than in the class. The results were constant. Not a child was found who remembered more in the individual test than in the class test. From this Meumann concludes that the great number of disturbing influences to which children are inevitably exposed in the classroom — the noise of

writing, whispering, walking about, the occasional words of the teacher, the sight of the movements of the pupils, and the like, which one might naturally suppose would make the results inferior, have no special influence.

Meumann asked a number of the pupils in case of the individual tests whether they would prefer to take such exercise in the class or alone, whether they were disturbed by the noise of the other people. To his surprise, 80 per cent of the pupils gave the decided answer that they would prefer to do the work in the class. Some 15 per cent gave no definite answer. The others, an extremely small minority, replied that they were disturbed in the classroom; and in most cases these were sensitive, nervous or weak children, although among them were some individuals of decided talent.

Thus it appears that the presence of a group distinctly affects the mental activity. Of course, the easy explanation of the increased ability to work often found in the group is to say that it is due to ambition, rivalry and the like. This is all true enough, but we can analyze this a little further.

A few things are pretty obvious. First of all, where activity is involved, there is the stimulus to greater exertion which comes from the sight of another performing an act. As Professor James has said, the sight of action in another is the greatest stimulus to action by ourselves. This has manifold illustrations from the activities of primitive man to modern experiments in the laboratory. In early stages, for example, an institution sometimes found is the *praesul*. A leader stands before a group who are engaged in work or a dance and himself performs perhaps in pantomime the activities which they are attempting. This stimulates and renders easier the activity of the group. Every paced race on the athletic field also furnishes an excellent illustration. Again in the laboratory, Féré found that the amount of work one could do with the ergograph was increased by having another person simply go through the action of contracting the muscles of the finger in sight of the subject of the experiment, the second person acting as a sort of pace-maker for the first. The clearer and more intense the idea of an action, the more efficient the action.

There is undoubtedly also an effective stimulus in the presence of the group. This is the stimulus which comes from our social impulses as inherited from the past, and yet it should be noticed that such effective stimuli, which, I take it, are what is really meant by ambition and the like, may act either to increase or to inhibit the mental activity. A certain degree of affective stimulus undoubtedly increases the ability to work, but if the stimulus is extreme, the work is checked or inhibited altogether. For example, extreme anger, stage fright, and even extreme joy, in the presence of the group, may inhibit the mental activity.

In many individuals at least, the presence of the group is a stimulus to greater concentration of attention. In case others are doing the same thing, this helps us attend better to the activity in hand; and even in case others are doing something different, the distraction itself is sometimes a stimulus to better attention, because the individual tries to resist the attraction, and there is an over-compensation which improves the attention. Meumann, for example, has found this result in certain experiments.

Meumann emphasizes particularly this compensation power of attention. Not merely is it true that the performance of an individual often increases when there are disturbing stimuli, because the increased concentration to overcome the distractions increases the work; but more than this, the compensation, which in this case becomes an over-compensation, shows that the disturbing stimulus has the effect of increasing rather than decreasing the energy; that is, it has a dynamogenic effect, although this effort does not occur in case of all individuals. . . .

To describe the stimulus to the imagination from the group would be commonplace. We need not go to the laboratory nor cite the case of children for illustration. The man in the crowd has always been able to see what has happened, and more besides; to foresee impending danger, or anticipate success, or hear voices from the unknown and behold inspiring visions. . . .

As regards the relative merits of solitude or a social environment for scholastic pursuits I am not concerned here to speak. But the weight of evidence thus far seems to be to indicate the advantage of group work, except when individual and original thinking is required. This is perhaps one reason why the man of genius has frequently desired solitude. There are undoubtedly, also, great individual differences as regards the effect of social environment; there are even perhaps different types as regards the effectiveness of the stimuli from the social group. There may perhaps be one type that does its best work in solitude, another type that does its best work in the group. This again is one of the problems that should be investigated.

Again, of course, the question is relative to the kind of work done. Mayer's experiments indicate that for some kinds of work the stimulus of the social group is needed. For some kinds of work, especially where original thinking is demanded, the environment of solitude is better.

What we may call the social stimulus to mental activity is such a commonplace matter that probably very few realize its significance. When, however, we recall the fundamental character of our social instincts, it is not strange that the presence of other people should be a most potent stimulus, either increasing or checking the mental activity.

Psychologists have always recognized the fundamental character of stimulus from ambition, rivalry, and the like. But this social stimulus goes much farther back, and is rooted in the reflexes of the sympathetic nervous system that are correlated with emotion. This is well illustrated in experiments with animals. Mosso found in his experiments testing directly the sympathetic reflexes in the dog that the presence of the master in the room at once affected the reflexes; and Dr. Yerkes, of Harvard University, finds that in his experiments with dogs the presence of the experimenter is always likely to affect the results.

The fundamental character of the social stimulus is shown also in many fields of human activity according to one view of æsthetics. The artist always works with the audience in his mind. The teacher also and the orator are apt to do much of their work with the class or audience in mind. I am not concerned here with the fact that this often becomes a grotesque and exaggerated mark of the profession, but merely with this as an illustration of the fundamental character of what we have called the social stimulus.

In fact, this social stimulus colors everything. It is comparable only to the constant peripheral stimulation which is necessary to keep us awake; in like manner, a social stimulus is necessary as an internal condition, as we may say, of consciousness. . . .

The social instincts are so strong in children that if they are so unfortunate as to be largely isolated from others they are apt to create imaginary companions and to live in a dream world of society.

The aim of this paper is to present the problem. Let me, for a moment, however, hint at a wider point of view.

The investigations referred to have chiefly concerned the mere presence or absence of other individuals performing similar tasks. In a true social group, the relations are more vital. Each individual feels a responsibility and performs some service for the group. Here the stimulus is likely to be greater. Perhaps the greatest stimulus to mental activity from the group is social success to those who can achieve it.

Both experiment and observation have shown the great stimulus resulting from success in general. Social beings that we are, no form of success is so stimulating as a social success. When we reflect that under present conditions many of the children in our schools are so placed that a social success is impossible we see the significance of this point.

Wm. H. Burnham. Selected extracts from an article in *Science*, N. S., Vol. 13, pp. 761–766, May 20, 1910.

The Psychology of Social Consciousness implied in Instruction

The sociologist notes two methods in the process of primitive education. The first is generally described as that of play and imi-

tation. The impulses of the children find their expression in play, and play describes the attitude of the child's consciousness. Imitation defines the form of unconscious social control exercised by the community over the expression of childish impulses.

In the long ceremonies of initiation education assumed a more conscious and almost deliberate form. The boy was induced into the clan mysteries, into the mythology and social procedure of the community, under an emotional tension which was skillfully aroused and maintained. He was subjected to tests of endurance which were calculated not only to fulfill this purpose, but also to identify the end and interests of the individual with those of the social group. These more general purposes of the initiatory ceremonies were also at times cunningly adapted to enhance the authority of the medicine man or the control over food and women by the older men in the community.

Whatever opinion one may hold to the interpretation which folk-psychology and anthropology have given of this early phase of education, no one would deny, I imagine, the possibility of studying the education of the savage child scientifically, nor that this would be a psychological study. Imitation, play, emotional tensions favoring the acquirement of clan myths and cults, and the formation of clan judgments of evaluation, these must be all interpreted and formulated by some form of psychology. The particular form which has dealt with these phenomena and processes is social psychology. The important features of the situation would be found not in the structure of the idea to be assimilated considered as material of instruction for any child, nor in the lines of association which would guarantee their abiding in consciousness. They would be found in the impulse of the children expressed in play, in the tendency of the children to put themselves in the place of the men and women of the group, *i.e.* to imitate them in the emotions which consciousness of themselves in their relationship to others evoke, and in the import for the boy which the ideas and cults would have when surcharged with such emotions.

If we turn to our system of education, we find that the materials of the curriculum have been presented as precepts capable of being assimilated by the nature of their content to other contents in consciousness, and the manner has been indicated in which this material can be most favorably prepared for such assimilation. This type of psychological treatment of material and the lesson is recognized at once as Herbartian. It is an associational type of psychology. Its critics add that it is intellectualistic. In any case, it is not a social psychology, for the child is not primarily considered as a self among other selves, but as an *apperceptionsmasse*. The child's relations to the other members of the group to which he belongs have no immediate bearing on the material nor on the learning of it. The banishment from

the traditional school work of play and of any adult activities in which the child could have a part as a child, *i.e.* the banishment of processes in which the child can be conscious of himself in relation to others, means that the process of learning has as little social content as possible.

An explanation of the different attitudes in the training of the child in the primitive and in the modern civilized communities is found, in part, in the division of labor between the school on one side and the home and the shop or the farm on the other. The business of storing the mind with ideas, both materials and methods, has been assigned to the school. The task of organizing and socializing the self to which these materials and methods belong is left to the home and the industry or profession, to the playground, the street and society in general. A great deal of modern educational literature turns upon the fallacy of this division of labor. The earlier vogue of manual training and the domestic arts, before the frank recognition of their relation to industrial training took place, was due in no small part to the attempt to introduce those interests of the child's into the field of his instruction which gathers about a socially constituted self, to admit the child's personality as a whole into the school.

I think we should be prepared to admit the implication of this educational movement — that however abstract the material is which is presented and however abstracted its ultimate use is from the immediate activities of the child, the situation implied in instruction and in the psychology of that instruction is a social situation; that it is impossible to fully interpret or control the process of instruction without recognizing the child as a self and viewing his conscious processes from the point of view of their relation in his consciousness to his self, among other selves.

In the first place, back of all instruction lies the relation of the child to the teacher, and about it lie the relations of the child to the other children in the schoolroom and on the playground. It is, however, of interest to note that so far as the material of instruction is concerned, an ideal situation has been conceived to be one in which the personality of the teacher disappears as completely as possible behind the process of learning. In the actual process of instruction, the emphasis upon the relation of the pupil and teacher in the consciousness of the child has been felt to be unfortunate. In like manner, the instinctive social relations between the children in school hours is repressed. In the process of memorizing and reciting a lesson, or working out a problem in arithmetic, a vivid consciousness of the personality of the teacher in his relationship to that of the child would imply either that the teacher was obliged to exercise discipline to carry on the process of instruction, and this must in the nature of the case

constitute friction and division of attention, or else that the child's interest is distracted from the subject matter of the lesson to something in which the personality of the teacher and pupil might find some other content; for even a teacher's approval and a child's delight therein has no essential relation to the mere subject matter of arithmetic or English. It certainly has no such relationship as that implied in apprenticeship, in the boy's helping on the farm or the girl's helping in the housekeeping, has no such relationship as that of members of an athletic team to each other. In these latter instances, the vivid consciousness of the self of the child and of his master, of the parents whom he helps, and of the associates with whom he plays is part of the child's consciousness of these personal relationships and involves no division of attention. Now it had been a part of the fallacy of an intellectualistic pedagogy that a divided attention was necessary to insure application of attention — that the rewards, and especially the punishments, of the school hung before the child's mind to catch the attention that was wandering from the task, and through their associations with the schoolwork to bring it back to the task. This involves a continual vibration of attention on the part of the average child between the task and the sanctions of school discipline. It is only the psychology of school discipline that is social. The pains and penalties, the pleasures of success in competition, of favorable mention of all sorts, implies vivid self-consciousness. It is evident that advantage would follow from making the consciousness of self or selves, which is the life of the child's play — on its competition or coöperation — have as essential a place in instruction. To use Professor Dewey's phrase, instruction should be an interchange of experience in which the child brings his experience to be interpreted by the experience of the parent or teacher. This recognizes that education is interchange of ideas, is conversation — belongs to a universe of discourse. If the lesson is simply set for the child — is not his own problem — the recognition of himself as facing a task and a task-master is no part of the solution of the problem. But a difficulty which the child feels and brings to his parent or teacher for solution is helped on toward interpretation by the consciousness of the child's relation to his pastors and masters. Just in so far as the subject matter of instruction can be brought into the form of problems arising in the experience of the child — just so far will the relation of the child to the instructor become a part of the natural solution of the problem; actual success of a teacher depends in large measure upon this capacity to state the subject matter of instruction in terms of the experience of the children. The recognition of the value of industrial and vocational training comes back at once to this, that what the child has to learn is what he wants to acquire, to become a man. Under these conditions

instruction takes on frankly the form of conversation, as much sought by the pupil as the instructor.

I take it therefore to be a scientific task to which education should set itself, that of making the subject matter of its instruction the material of personal intercourse between pupils and instructors and between the children themselves, the substitution of the converse of concrete individuals for the pale abstractions of thought.

To a large extent our school organization reserves the use of the personal relation between teacher and taught for the negative side, for the prohibitions. The lack of interest in the personal content of the lesson is, in fact, startling when one considers that it is the personal form in which the instruction should be given. The best illustration of this lack of interest we find in the problems which disgrace our arithmetic. They are supposed matters of converse, but their content is so bare, their abstractions so raggedly covered with the form of questions about such marketing and shopping and building as never were on sea or land, that one sees that the social form of instruction is a form only for the writer of the arithmetic. When further we consider how utterly inadequate the teaching force of our public schools is to transform this matter into concrete experience of the children or even into their own experience, the hopelessness of the situation is overwhelming. Ostwald has written a textbook of chemistry for the secondary school which has done what every textbook should do. It is not only that the material shows real respect for the intelligence of the student, but it is so organized that the development of the subject matter is in reality the action and reaction of one mind upon another mind. The dictum of the Platonic Socrates, that one must follow the argument where it leads in the dialogue, should be the motto of the writer of textbooks.

It has been indicated already that language being essentially social in its nature, thinking with the child is rendered concrete by taking on the form of conversation. It has been also indicated that this can take place only when the thought has reference to a real problem in the experience of the child. The further demand for control over attention carries us back to the conditions of attention. Here again we find that traditional school practice depends upon social consciousness for bringing the wandering attention back to the task, when it finds that the subjective conditions of attention to the material of instruction are lacking and even attempts to carry over a formal self-consciousness into attention, when through the sense of duty the pupil is called upon to identify the solution of the problem with himself. On the other hand, we have in vocational instruction the situation in which the student has identified his impulses with the subject matter of the task. In the former case, as in the case of instruction, our

traditional practice makes use of the self-consciousness of the child in its least effective form. The material of the lesson is not identified with the impulses of the child. The attention is not due to the organization of impulses to outgoing activity. The organization of typical school attention is that of a school self, expressing subordination to school authority and identity of conduct with that of all the other children in the room. It is largely inhibitive — a consciousness of what one must not do, but the inhibitions do not arise out of the consciousness of what one is doing. It is the nature of school attention to abstract from the content of any specific task. The child must give attention *first* and *then* undertake any task which is assigned him, while normal attention is essentially selective and depends for its inhibitions upon the specific act.

Now consciousness of self should follow upon that of attention, and consists in a reference of the act, which attention has mediated, to the social self. It brings about a conscious organization of this particular act with the individual as a whole — makes it his act, and can only be effectively accomplished when the attention is an actual organization of impulses seeking expression. The separation between the self, implied in typical school attention, and the content of the school tasks makes such an organization difficult if not impossible.

In a word, attention is a process of organization of consciousness. It results in the reënforcement and inhibitions of perceptions and ideas. It is always a part of an act and involves the relation of that act to the whole field of consciousness. This relation to the whole field of consciousness finds its expression in consciousness of self. But the consciousness of self depends primarily upon social relations. The self arises in consciousness *pari passu* with the recognition and definition of other selves. It is therefore unfruitful, if not impossible, to attempt to scientifically control the attention of children in their formal education, unless they are regarded as social beings in dealing with the very material of instruction. It is this essentially social character of attention which gives its peculiar grip to vocational training. From the psychological point of view, not only the method and material, but also the means of holding the pupils' attention must be socialized.

Finally, a word may be added with reference to the evaluations — the emotional reactions — which our education should call forth. There is no phase of our public school training that is so defective as this. The school undertakes to acquaint the child with the ideas and methods which he is to use as a man. Shut up in the history, the geography, the language and the number of our curricula should be the values that the country, and its human institutions, have; that beauty has in nature and art; and the values involved in the control over nature and social conditions.

The child in entering into his heritage of ideas and methods should have the emotional response which the boy has in a primitive community when he has been initiated into the mysteries and the social code of the group of which he has become a citizen. We have a few remainders of this emotional response in the confirmation or conversion and entrance into the church, in the initiation into the fraternity, and in the passage from apprenticeship into the union. But the complexities of our social life and the abstract intellectual character of the ideas which society uses have made it increasingly difficult to identify the attainment of the equipment of a man with the meaning of manhood and citizenship.

Conventional ceremonies at the end of the period of education will never accomplish this. And we have to further recognize that our education extends for many far beyond the adolescent period to which this emotional response naturally belongs. What our schools can give must be given through the social consciousness of the child as that consciousness develops. It is only as the child recognizes a social import in what he is learning and doing that moral education can be given.

I have sought to indicate that the process of schooling in its barest form cannot be successfully studied by a scientific psychology unless that psychology is social, *i.e.* unless it recognizes that the processes of acquiring knowledge, of giving attention, of evaluating in emotional terms must be studied in their relation to selves in a social consciousness. So far as education is concerned, the child does not become social by learning. He must be social in order to learn.

G. H. Mead. Reprinted from *Science*, N. S., Vol. 31, pp. 688–693, May 6, 1910.

The Social Values of the Curriculum

The principle of the school as itself a representative social institution may be applied to the subject matter of instruction — must be applied, if the divorce between information and character is to be overcome.

A casual glance at pedagogical literature will show that we are much in need of an ultimate criterion for the value of studies, and for deciding what is meant by content value and by form value. At present we are apt to have two, three, or even four different standards set up, by which different values — as disciplinary, culture, and information values — are measured. There is no conception of any single unifying principle. The point here made is that the extent and way in which a study brings the pupil to consciousness of his social environment, and confers upon him the ability to interpret his

own powers from the standpoint of their possiblities in social use, is this ultimate and unified standard.

The distinction of form and content value is becoming familiar, but, so far as I know, no attempt has been made to give it rational basis. I submit the following as the key to the distinction: A study from a certain point of view serves to introduce the child to a consciousness of the make-up or structure of social life; from another point of view, it serves to introduce him to a knowledge of, and command over, the instrumentalities through which society carries itself along. The former is the content value; the latter is the form value. Form is thus in no sense a term of depreciation. Form is as necessary as content. Form represents, as it were, the technique, the adjustment of means involved in social action, just as content refers to the realized value or end of social action. What is needed is not a depreciation of form, but a correct placing of it, that is, seeing that since it is related as means to end, it must be kept in subordination to an end, and taught in relation to the end. The distinction is ultimately an ethical one because it relates not to anything found in the study from a purely intellectual or logical point of view, but to the studies considered from the standpoint of the ways in which they develop a consciousness of the nature of social life, in which the child is to live.

I take up the discussion first from the side of content. The contention is that a study is to be considered as bringing the child to realize the social scene of action; that when thus considered it gives a criterion for the selection of material and for the judgment of value. At present, as already suggested, we have three independent values set up: one of culture, another of information, and another of discipline. In reality these refer only to three phases of social interpretation. Information is genuine or educative only in so far as it effects definite images and conceptions of material placed in social life. Discipline is genuine and educative only as it represents a reaction of the information into the individual's own powers so that he can bring them under control for social ends. Culture, if it is to be genuine and educative, and not an external polish or factitious varnish, represents the vital union of information and discipline. It designates the socialization of the individual in his whole outlook upon life and mode of dealing with it.

This abstract point may be illustrated briefly by reference to a few of the school studies. In the first place, there is no line of demarcation within facts themselves which classifies them as belonging to science, history or geography, respectively. The pigeonhole classification which is so prevalent at present (fostered by introducing the pupil at the outset into a number of different studies contained in

different textbooks) gives an utterly erroneous idea of the relations of studies to each other, and to the intellectual whole to which they all belong. In fact, these subjects have all to do with the same ultimate reality, namely, the conscious experience of man. It is only because we have different interests, or different ends, that we sort out the material and label part of it science, part history, part geography, and so on. Each of these subjects represents an arrangement of materials with reference to some one dominant or typical aim or process of the social life.

This social criterion is necessary not only to mark off the studies from each other, but also to grasp the reasons for the study of each and the motives in connection with which it should be presented. How, for example, shall we define geography? What is the unity in the different so-called divisions of geography — as mathematical geography, physical geography, political geography, commercial geography? Are these purely empirical classifications dependent upon the brute fact that we run across a lot of different facts which cannot be connected with one another, or is there some reason why they are all called geography, and is there some intrinsic principle upon which the material is distributed under these various heads? I understand by intrinsic not something which attaches to the objective facts themselves, for the facts do not classify themselves, but something in the interest and attitude of the human mind towards them. This is a large question, and it would take an essay longer than this entire paper adequately to answer it. I raise the question partly to indicate the necessity of going back to more fundamental principles if we are to have any real philosophy of education, and partly to afford, in my answer, an illustration of the principle of social interpretation. I should say that geography has to do with all those aspects of social life which are concerned with the interaction of the life of man and nature; or, that it has to do with the world considered as the scene of social interaction. Any fact, then, will be a geographical fact in so far as it bears upon the dependence of man upon his natural environment, or with the changes introduced in this environment through the life of man.

The four forms of geography referred to above represent, then, four increasing stages of abstraction in discussing the mutual relation of human life and nature. The beginning must be the commercial geography. I mean by this that the essence of any geographical fact is the consciousness of two persons, or two groups of persons, who are at once separated and connected by physical environment, and that the interest is in seeing how these people are at once kept apart and brought together in their actions by the instrumentality of this physical environment. The ultimate significance of lake, river,

mountain, and plain is not physical, but social; it is the part which it plays in modifying and functioning human relationship. This evidently involves an extension of the term commercial. It has not to do simply with business, in the narrow sense, but includes whatever relates to human intercourse and intercommunication as affected by natural forms and properties. Political geography represents this same social interaction taken in a static instead of in a dynamic way; takes it, that is, as temporarily crystallized and fixed in certain forms. Physical geography (including under this not simply physiography, but also the study of flora and fauna) represents a further analysis or abstraction. It studies the conditions which determine human action, leaving out of account, temporarily, the ways in which they concretely do this. Mathematical geography simply carries the analysis back to more ultimate and remote conditions, showing that the physical conditions themselves are not ultimate, but depend upon the place which the world occupies in a larger system. Here, in other words, we have traced, step by step, the links which connect the immediate social occupations and interactions of man back to the whole natural system which ultimately conditioned them. Step by step the scene is enlarged and the image of what enters into the make-up of social action is widened and broadened, but at no time ought the chain of connection to be broken.

It is out of the question to take up the studies one by one and show that their meaning is similarly controlled by social consideration. But I cannot forbear a word or two upon history. History is vital or dead to the child according as it is or is not presented from the sociological standpoint. When treated simply as a record of what has passed and gone, it must be mechanical because the past, as the past, is remote. It no longer has existence and simply as past there is no motive for attending to it. The ethical value of history teaching will be measured by the extent to which it is treated as a matter of analysis of existing social relations — that is to say, as affording insight into what makes up the structure and working of society.

This relation of history to comprehension of existing social forces is apparent whether we take it from the standpoint of social order or from that of social progress. Existing social structure is exceedingly complex. It is practically impossible for the child to attack it *en masse* and get any definite mental image of it. But type phases of historical development may be selected which will exhibit, as through a telescope, the essential constituents of the existing order. Greece, for example, represents what art and the growing power of individual expression stands for; Rome exhibits the political elements and determining forces of political life on a tremendous scale. Or, as these civilizations are themselves relatively complex, a study of still

simpler forms of hunting, nomadic and agricultural life in the beginnings of civilization; a study of the effects of the introduction of iron, iron tools and so forth serves to reduce the existing complexity to its simple elements.

One reason historical teaching is usually not more effective is the fact that the student is set to acquire information in such a way that no epochs or factors stand out to his mind as typical; everything is reduced to the same dead level. The only way of securing the necessary perspective is by relating the past to the present, as if the past were a projected present in which all the elements are enlarged.

The principle of contrast is as important as that of similarity. Because the present life is so close to us, touching us at every point, we cannot get away from it to see it as it really is. Nothing stands out clearly or sharply as characteristic. In the study of past periods attention necessarily attaches itself to striking differences. Thus the child gets a locus in imagination, through which he can remove himself from the present pressure of surrounding circumstance and define it.

History is equally available as teaching the *methods* of social progress. It is commonly stated that history must be studied from the standpoint of cause and effect. The truth of this statement depends upon its interpretation. Social life is so complex and the various parts of it are so organically related to each other and to the natural environment that it is impossible to say that this or that thing is the cause of some other particular thing. But what the study of history can effect is to reveal the main instruments in the way of discoveries, inventions, new modes of life, etc., which have initiated the great epochs of social advance, and it can present to the child's consciousness type illustrations of the main lines in which social progress has been made most easily and effectively and can set before him what the chief difficulties and obstructions have been. Progress is always rhythmic in its nature, and from the side of growth as well as from that of status or order it is important that the epochs which are typical should be selected. This once more can be done only in so far as it is recognized that social forces in themselves are always the same — that the same kind of influences were at work one hundred and one thousand years ago that are now — and treating the particular historical epochs as affording illustrations of the way in which the fundamental forces work.

Everything depends, then, upon history being treated from a social standpoint, as manifesting the agencies which have influenced social development, and the typical institutions in which social life has expressed itself. The culture-epoch theory, while working in the right direction, has failed to recognize the importance of treating past periods with relation to the present — that is, as affording insight

into the representative factors of its structure; it has treated these periods too much as if they had some meaning or value in themselves. The way in which the biographical method is handled illustrates the same point. It is often treated in such a way as to exclude from the child's consciousness (or at least not sufficiently to emphasize) the social forces and principles involved in the association of the masses of men. It is quite true that the child is interested easily in history from the biographical standpoint; but unless the hero is treated in relation to the community life behind him which he both sums up and directs, there is danger that the history will reduce itself to a mere story. When this is done, moral instruction reduces itself to drawing certain lessons from the life of the particular personalities concerned, instead of having widened and deepened the child's imaginative consciousness of the social relationships, ideals and means involved in the world in which he lives.

There is some danger, I presume, in simply presenting the illustrations without more development, but I hope it will be remembered that I am not making these points for their own sake, but with reference to the general principle that when history is taught as a mode of understanding social life, it has positive ethical import. What the normal child continuously needs is not so much isolated moral lessons instilling in him the importance of truthfulness and honesty, or the beneficent results that follow from some particular act of patriotism, etc. It is the formation of habits of social imagination and conception. I mean by this it is necessary that the child should be forming the habit of interpreting the special incidents that occur and the particular situations that present themselves in terms of the whole social life. The evils of the present industrial and political situation, on the ethical side, are not due so much to actual perverseness on the part of individuals concerned, nor to mere ignorance of what constitutes the ordinary virtues (such as honesty, industry, purity, etc.) as to inability to appreciate the social environment in which we live. It is tremendously complex and confused. Only a mind trained to grasp social situations, and to reduce them to their simpler and typical elements, can get sufficient hold on the realities of this life to see what sort of action, critical and constructive, it really demands. Most people are left at the mercy of tradition, impulse or the appeals of those who have special and class interests to serve. In relation to this highly complicated social environment, training for citizenship is formal and nominal unless it develops the power of observation, analysis and inference with respect to what makes up a social situation and the agencies through which it is modified. Because history rightly taught is the chief instrumentality for accomplishing this, it has an ultimate ethical value.

I have been speaking so far of the school curriculum on the side of its content. I now turn to that of form, understanding by this term, as already explained, a consciousness of the instruments and methods which are necessary to the control of social movements. Studies cannot be classified into form studies and content studies. Every study has both sides. That is to say, it deals both with the actual make-up of society, and is concerned with the tools or machinery by which society maintains itself. Language and literature best illustrate the impossibility of separation. Through the ideas contained in language, the continuity of the social structure is effected. From this standpoint the study of literature is a content study. But language is also distinctly a means, a tool. It not simply has social value in itself, but is a social instrument. However, in some studies one side or the other predominates very much, and in this sense we may speak of specifically form studies; as for example, mathematics.

My illustrative proposition at this point is that mathematics does, or does not, accomplish its full ethical purpose according as it is presented, or not presented, as such a social tool. The prevailing divorce between information and character, between knowledge and social action, stalks upon the scene here. The moment mathematical study is severed from the place which it occupies with reference to use in social life, it becomes unduly abstract, even from the purely intellectual side. It is presented as a matter of technical relations and formulæ apart from any end or use. What the study of numbers suffers from in elementary education is the lack of motivation. Back of this and that and the other particular bad method is the radical mistake of treating number as if it were an end in itself instead of as a means of accomplishing some end. Let any child get a consciousness of what the use of number is, of what it really is for, and half the battle is won. Now this consciousness of the use or reason implies some active end in view which is always implicitly social, since it involves the production of something which may be of use to others, and which is often explicitly social.

One of the absurd things in the more advanced study of arithmetic is the extent to which the child is introduced to numerical operations which have no distinctive mathematical principles characterizing them, but which represent certain general principles found in business relationships. To train the child in these operations, while paying no attention to the business realities in which they will be of use, and the conditions of social life which make these business activities necessary, is neither arithmetic nor common sense. The child is called upon to do examples in interest, partnership, banking, brokerage, and so on through a long string, and no pains are taken to see that, in connection with the arithmetic, he has any sense of the social

realities involved. This part of arithmetic is essentially sociological in its nature. It ought either to be omitted entirely or else taught in connection with a study of the relevant social realities. As we now manage the study, it is the old case of learning to swim apart from the water over again, with correspondingly bad results on the practical and ethical side.

I am afraid one question still haunts the reader. What has all this discussion about geography, history and number, whether from the side of content or that of form, got to do with the underlying principles of education? The very reasons which induce the reader to put this question to himself, even in a half-formed way, illustrate the point which I am trying to make. Our conceptions of the ethical in education have been too narrow, too formal and too pathological. We have associated the term "ethical" with certain special acts which are labeled virtues and set off from the mass of other acts, and still more from the habitual images and motives in the agents performing them. Moral instruction is thus associated with teaching about these particular virtues, or with instilling certain sentiments in regard to them. The ethical has been conceived in too goody-goody a way. But it is not such ethical ideas and motives as these which keep men at work in recognizing and performing their moral duty. Such teaching as this, after all is said and done, is external; it does not reach down into the depths of the character-making agency. Ultimate moral motives and forces are nothing more or less than social intelligence — the power of observing and comprehending social situations — and social power — trained capacities of control — at work in the service of social interest and aims. There is no fact which throws light upon the constitution of society; there is no power whose training adds to social resourcefulness which is not ethical in its bearing.

I sum up, then, by asking attention to the moral trinity of the school. The demand is for social intelligence, social power and social interests. Our resources are (1) the life of the school as a social institution in itself; (2) methods of learning and of doing work; and (3) the school studies or curriculum. In so far as the school represents, in its own spirit, a genuine community life; in so far as what are called school discipline, government, order, etc., are the expressions of this inherent social spirit; in so far as the methods used are those which appeal to the active and constructive powers, permitting the child to give out, and thus to serve; in so far as the curriculum is so selected and organized as to provide the material for affording the child a consciousness of the world in which he has to play a part, and the relations he has to meet; in so far as these ends are met, the school is organized on an ethical basis.

J. Dewey. Extracts from "Ethical Principles underlying Education," in *The Third Yearbook of the National Herbart Society.*

Social Significance of Self-organized Group Work

There is something of a contrast between the biological organism and the organization of individuals called society. In the body the cell unit is, for the most part, permanent in place and hereditarily fixed in function. With the higher animals substitution of function among the different parts is very rare, and most apparent in the brain, which is the organ immediately subserving social action. The case is quite different in all highly developed societies. Here individuals move freely from one position to another, and constantly change their rôles, sometimes to a very great extent. For America especially, this feature is fundamental and characteristic. The successful mule driver of to-day may be the successful President of to-morrow. Every kind of equality of opportunity for each and all is, as we are never tired of saying, the presupposition and the aim of democracy.

Such interchange or development of social function is impossible without the greatest plasticity on the part of individuals. This plasticity, however, while it has a biological basis, is useful only as it is played upon by society. Habits of social action, not so permanent that they may not be changed if occasion demands, must be formed and used in building up the structure of society. The social situation in which a person finds himself, or the group with which he is in contact, has thus the most to do with his rôle or function in society and his success in life. The family in which the average individual is brought up has usually even more to do with his serviceableness to society than the one in which he is born. No doubt the possibilities must be latent in the individual, but different grouping with quite similar material produces entirely different results.

If, then, we are to educate the children of democracy, it is the nature of the groups in which they work, the varying constitution and development of these, and the repercussion of them on the constituent individuals, which form the most important element in the process.

The group or society of which the teacher aims to be the leader and inspirer from a social standpoint is usually more or less of a mere aggregate, rather than an organization. There is every reason why the teacher should aim to organize this aggregate. In no other way can he become really the leader. When this is not done, the aggregate does not remain in a neutral condition. Organization sets in, independently of the teacher. It is not always fully conscious of itself, but it is none the less influential. Certain boys or girls are looked to by others for guidance, and become centers of disturbance. They are watched by the others for indications as to how far the class as a whole may go in opposition to the teacher. Sometimes there are chiefs for war and chiefs for peace. When a teacher runs against such a chief, it is

no longer an individual he is dealing with, and even when he finds fault with some humble member of the tribe, unless the chief consents to ignore or to condone the treatment given, the teacher may meet with as much difficulty and silent antagonism as if the individual had been socially important. The flag of the tribe protects its feeblest member.

Frequently more than one such group or clique can be found in a class, and although there may be some rivalry, there is usually a *status quo*. Those not in any group are left over, either as the teacher's pets, or as the offscouring of the class. When groups have once formed, the teacher who does not realize it is lost. His best resource is in some way to get hold of the leaders. In old-fashioned schools leadership was often determined by actual fighting. If the teacher "licked" the leader, he had the rest of the school. In modern city schools, leadership is a good deal more subtle, and the appeal to force, by calling in the head master, or by physical punishment for offenses, is not very effective. The group still remains loyal, and treats the punishment as an act of war. This is just because such punishment is not at all a fight in which personal address and vigor have any part. The teacher, on the contrary, is merely calling in the organized force of the community of adults to which he belongs. This is known to be superior to any form of frontal attack. Guerrilla warfare is all that is possible.

It is the impression of the present writer, due to a fairly wide experience of schools, both in the East and West, that at least 50 per cent of the higher-grade classes in the public schools are, to a greater or less extent, in such a state of antagonism to the teacher. This is not always carried so far as to prevent a certain kind of work from being done. The teacher may be respected as one would respect an officer of an opposing army, but he is not in any real sense a leader. It is also to be noted that the members of the children's groups, taken individually, have usually nothing criminal or even unsocial about them. It is the group to which they belong, rather than their own personality, which determines their conduct. Such organizations, however, even when largely instinctive and unconscious, are a menace to the best interests of the children, who, no matter what their achievements may be in reading, writing and arithmetic, are getting an education in hostility to many of the best things in society as a whole. In some way the teacher must creep into or break into this child community, if he is to lead it out of its narrowness and set it on the way to a higher development.

Sometimes the doors open by accident, and the teacher, if he realizes it, may enter naturally. A case told me by a distinguished Boston educator of his own experience when teacher of a ninth grade will

illustrate this point. A case of discipline had arisen, and the teacher said to a certain boy, "Well, there is no doubt that I shall have to punish you." The boy replied in the presence of the class, "Oh, yes, punish me; you're always down on me." This touched the teacher, and, being human enough to flare up, he said impulsively: "I'll leave it to the rest if you don't deserve it. More than that, I'll turn my face to the wall, and they can vote without my seeing them, and I'll never ask a boy how he has voted." The vote was reported to the teacher as unanimously in favor of the boy's being punished. At this point the boy broke down completely, and through his tears said, "Well, it must be right, since everybody says so."

The interesting and significant feature of this experience is the effect of the class sentiment on the boy. His attitude of defiance in the first place was evidently conditioned by his thought that the class was back of him; and, indeed, so it might have been but for the action of the teacher. The case throws a strong light on the real nature of punishment. This is never the mere infliction of pain or other inconvenience. With a desirable social backing boys are proud of these signs of prowess. Although they may suffer, and sometimes give vent to the natural expression of their suffering, they are no more guided by this in their future action than is a martyr on the rack. Punishment is the disapproval and repression of the group one feels he belongs to. Nothing else is punishment. It may sometimes require a rite or ceremony like the administration of pain to make it understood and to show that it is serious, but it is the spirit of exclusion which is the reality back of this physical expression. Indeed, the infliction of some more or less revengeful pain often has the effect of reconcilement. By this act the community still remains in contact with its recalcitrant member. It puts him in a position where his fellows observe him closely. He is the central figure of the tragedy. The others watch him and imagine how he is feeling. If he acts in such a way as to awaken sympathy either by heroism or by more or less dignified humility and repentance, the hate of the community generally turns to a degree of admiration, and the punishment is over. Capital punishment, unless where the imagination carries the drama into the next world, is thus the only form which is quite hopeless from this standpoint.

When a teacher administers punishment or reproof, it is absolutely necessary that he carry with him the best sentiment of the class. He can do this on ordinary occasions, at least, only if the punishment be applied to prevent hindrances, not to such activities as the teacher thinks are desirable, but to those which the class can be made sincerely to approve. To get in sight of the solution of such a problem, no mere knowledge of individuals as such, or course of study, however excellent,

will ever suffice. It is the social action of the class, the nature of the groups really at work, their aims and ideals, their leadership and organization, which the teacher must find an opportunity to study, and, if possible, to modify or control.

The most reasonable way out of the difficulties we have described would seem to be, not to hand over the strictly governmental functions to the children, although this may sometimes partially succeed, but to make some suitable opportunity in the regular work of the school for real leadership and organization on their part. If this phase of work is to exclude the use of force, it must find an opening into the course of study. It must not be relegated to off days, Friday afternoons, or to the home or the street, but must be represented on the time-table. As we have seen, the leadership of the antagonistic class groups does not depend much, in modern city schools at least, on the use of force. These groups are attractive enough to hold themselves together without it. If, now, we can bring out the leadership involved in these mistaken efforts of the children, and use the force at the disposal of the teacher to foster and protect the organizations that would be formed, the class would get a lively sense of the benefits springing from the teacher's power, and would be more disposed to admit its use on other occasions. The leaders themselves would get an opportunity for a full swing, and they would get this in the presence of the teacher, and with his approbation and consent. The teacher might, to some extent, become a follower in some groups, and offer advice and opinions which might not always be accepted by the leader.

Indeed, if this did not sometimes happen, two alternatives would arise. Either the teacher would stand off and merely observe at a distance the operations of the group, or there would be a feeling on the part of the children that the teacher after all was the real leader of the group. Both of these alternatives would be fatal to this phase of education. The teacher needs to get into the groups as much as possible, but by no means as an authoritative leader or organizer. His advice must have no more weight than its evident good sense and its capability of furthering the real interests of the children will afford. When the class reverts to the previous condition of affairs, and when the teacher becomes again the director, he will have an entirely different community to deal with. Not only will he have discovered some of the natural leaders (and who they are may often be a surprise to him), but he will have been able to learn a good deal about how the followers are influenced. Best of all, he will be regarded by the leaders as one of themselves. If he is broad enough to allow his newly acquired experience to modify his old habits, they will be disposed to study his methods of leadership rather than to continue to waste energy in warfare. They remain conscious of the power in

them, which is shortly again to have opportunity for exercise and display. Under such conditions the latent, underground kind of organization may find a normal outlet, an opportunity to become more conscious and progressive, and at the same time it may provide the teacher with a natural opening into the heart of the children's social life.

As will be seen, it is not a revolutionary or radical change of all school procedure which the introduction of self-organized purpose groups would bring about. Such a change means rather a conservation and development of the educational values that are already to be found in the real leadership of the teacher, although leadership on the part of many of the students would also be made possible.

It might be asked, though hardly by practical people, why, if a given attitude or relationship between pupil and teacher is a good and social thing for one part of the day, something different is needed for another; or, if a teacher can catch the spirit of true leadership which makes room for all the children as active and constructive followers, why he should not continue to lead throughout. This true leadership is of course excellent, but it will come much more surely and naturally as a result of the observation of children's independent groups than it ever can without them. For the very lowest grades, however, such an attitude is probably all that can be expected. But, as we have already tried to show, the true constructive power of a follower cannot be measured when he is under the direction of another, nor is it to be expected in a democratic society that leadership should be confined to one or a few. We often hear that he who would command must first learn to obey. Nothing could be truer, except its converse, that he who would obey in spirit and in truth must also know how to command. There is no individual in a democratic community who has not found it necessary, on occasion, to direct others. This direction may not apply to many at a time, and it may not be for long, but when the opportunity comes, much more depends upon his action than when he played a follower's rôle. At present our society suffers more from the lack of true leadership, and the kind of insight and morality necessary for such a function, than from any other fault. The leader is so scarce that an undue premium is placed upon him. This shows itself strikingly in commerce as in politics, where the wage of even blundering leaders forms an enormous tax upon the community.

With greater practical experience and insight into what leadership really means, we may hope to produce more competent leaders to select from and more intelligent followers to select them. Besides being a test and measure of the capacity of the social work of the teacher to live and maintain itself when his direction is removed, the self-organized group ought to afford a direct means of education designed

to touch the democratic problem at the point of its culminating service to the community at large.

The reader has now before him some of the social needs which free, self-organized work would go far toward satisfying. In each of the three schools studied in the previous chapters, we found elements of a high degree of social value, and an approximate solution of the problem of educative social organization. Space prevents us from studying other schools in detail, although one of them at least, the Ethical Culture School of New York, founded by Felix Adler, has arrived under Mr. Manny, its recent superintendent, at a high degree of social efficiency, and would amply repay investigation. We must, however, hurry on to the problem of the average grade school of the times, and attempt to show how it is possible, even with crowded classes and without special equipment, to obtain in the people's schools those coöperative and self-sustaining motives which are worthy of democracy and best able to measure the teacher's work.

The experiences to be described may be called experiments, but not in the sense that they were instituted merely to see how they would turn out. They were experiments simply in the sense that all life is experimental, and were devised with the view that the development of intention and resourcefulness on the part of the pupil is the greatest and most undeniable duty of any form of education. They are not, however, the outcome of any particular *a priori* theory of either individual or social action, and they have, therefore, the character of scientific data, from which useful generalizations may be made, capable of carrying both thought and practice into larger fields. The naturalness of the data is shown by the fact that in different schools, and in the same schools from year to year, a given piece of work is never repeated. As some one has said, "Constant change is the unchanging lay of humanity." Different conditions and different children always produce different results. There has been nothing to justify any expectation that we should ever be able to obtain by our experiments an ideal course of study capable of being handed over to other schools. There was no hope that we should ever be able to stereotype the results in textbooks and fix them upon the brains of a rising generation.

The experiments naturally start from a background of dictated work derived from the usual course of study, and it was always a condition that no work was to be permitted, the plan of which the teacher did not approve; although after it was started it might fail or succeed without the teacher's stepping in to bolster it up or to coerce its supporters. There never was any likelihood that in the lowest grades, at least, the children's self-organized work would absorb the whole of the school work or all the time on the program. Dictated work

which the teacher leads directly, and courses of study, however much they may be modified, will always be needed to some extent in the education of the young.

Several years ago the present writer, in coöperation with two third-grade teachers in the Chicago and Cook Country Normal School (Miss Margaret McIntyre and Miss Jessie Black), introduced the proposition of self-organized work to their pupils. Each teacher said to her class, with as much simplicity as was possible, something like the following: "If you had time given you for something that you enjoy doing, and that you think worth while, what should you choose to do? When you have decided how you would spend the time, come and tell me about your plan. You may come all together, or in groups, or each by himself; but whatever you say you want to do, you must tell the length of time you will need to finish it, and how you expect to do it."

We thus called for a plan as definite as possible, both as to time and materials. It was understood that if the teacher could not be convinced that the plan was feasible, or that it was sufficiently worth while, she would not allow it to begin.

At first in one class there was but a single plan. This started with three boys, eight or nine years of age, who said they wanted to print. "How can you print?" the teacher asked. "We have no printing press." "Oh, yes; Harry here (the real names are not used) has a press that his father gave him at Christmas, and if you will let us, we'll print a list of those hard words, the names of the days of the week, which you gave the class to spell. We will place a copy on the desk of every pupil, and you will see how quickly they will learn them." "How long will it take you?" the teacher inquired. "Three, or perhaps four half-hours. We can divide up the work so that we think we can get it done in that time."

The teacher gave the period from 11.30 to 12 on Monday, Wednesday and Friday. They chose the back of the room to work in, and they agreed to be as quiet as possible so as not to disturb the rest of the class, which meanwhile was doing such work as the boys could best afford to miss. They succeeded admirably, and completed their work within the time specified. When they were fairly at work, the rest of the class woke up, and the teacher was presented with a number of plans, many of them of a very mushroom character, devised mainly to escape the regular work of that hour. But when the teacher asked in detail about the plans, how long they would take to finish, etc., these latter were spontaneously given up by the children, or enlarged so that they had become more practical. After the printing group had finished their first contract, they still kept together with the idea of becoming class printers when needed.

In the other third-grade class a similar group was started, which

soon took in more boys who wanted to join. On one occasion the teacher found that they were not doing what they had planned for that day. She asked them what was the matter, and pointed out that if they did not do what they said they would, they would have to go back to their seats. They had a little consultation among themselves, and decided that there were too many in the group for the work to be done, and that they interfered with one another instead of helping. The group was thinned by its own action, and the work was finished successfully. This group also kept on for some time, and printed a number of things for the class. Here is a sample of their work: —

Criticism of Report of Group 2 on Beef Tea

The Group did not know all they should know about it.
It was worth giving.

Some time after the beginning of these groups, and when nearly the whole class was engaged in one or another of them, Professor Albion Small paid them a visit. One of the boys said to him: "Look at those girls cooking. Now I don't see the good of that. But this work is just the thing for me. I am a very poor speller, and every word I set up I learn to spell." This group interested some of the families from which the boys came, for they were never tired of talking of it at home. One of the fathers, although a working man, contributed fonts of type to the value of $15. Pieces of work were taken home, and their merits and defects fully criticized. These printing groups had a leader, although he was not given any special name.

In one class three cooking groups were started. The first of these was started to cook — "just to eat," as one of the members stated. It was at first composed of four girls and one boy. The initial preparations required a good deal of management. The mothers had to be persuaded to give money or material. One girl brought an old gas oven, and another a heater on which it was placed; also a table had to be provided, and shelves for dishes. An attachment had to be made in order to use the gas. For this the permission of the principal of the school was required, and how best to approach him was carefully considered by the group. Books of recipes were obtained, and although the reading was difficult for third-grade pupils, much reading was done and the merits of different recipes were discussed. A cake was finally decided upon. I was called in as a guest when the cake was finished, and since it was a sacrament of friendship, I did my best to eat my piece. As we were sitting around, the boy said between his mouthfuls, "It seems to me this cake ain't as good as it ought to be." "What's the matter with it?" was the rather sharp retort of the little girl who was the leader of the group. The boy,

who was phlegmatic, replied without a ruffle, " Well, maybe it's the butter; it might have been butterine." " You bought the butter," said the little girl. The boy said nothing, but later he went to the grocery store where he had bought it, and asked if it was butterine. The grocer, probably vexed, said among other things, " If you don't like the butter, perhaps you'd better write to the Health Department." When the boy came back to school, he asked the teacher, " What is the Health Department, and what did the man mean by saying I'd better write? " The teacher told him, and said that perhaps it would be a good thing to write.

This he did, and got back a sheaf of pamphlets. Most of them were too difficult for him, but in one was a marked passage telling how to test for butterine by noting the rate of melting. The whole group was so interested in this that they stopped cooking and started in on the test for butterine. They were quite successful, and they used the test on several occasions afterwards.

By this time they had decided to keep all the recipes they used, and each made a cookbook for his or her own use. They obtained rubber stamps and " printed " these recipes, and although it became somewhat like drudgery later on, they insisted that no member of the group should shirk that part of the work. The experiment with the butterine was also printed in their cookbooks. This is the way it ran (grams were used because the children could get no other weights in the school. The directions called simply for equal weights):

Experiment with Butterine

5 grams butterine melted in 66 seconds.
5 grams butter melted in 60 seconds.
5 grams lard melted in 39 seconds.
5 grams of tallow melted in 629 seconds.
Test for butterine. Butterine smells bad when it melts because it has tallow and lard in it.
It sputters when it melts because it has tallow in it. It melts slower than butter.

Meantime, the children had seen in a window a man binding books, and they thought that it would be a good plan to have their cookbooks bound. They visited the bookbinder, and he showed them how to stitch the leaves together and make a stiff cover. As a consequence they all bound their books, an art which was copied by some of the other groups that needed it.

After several experiments in cooking, the necessity of having their plans made the night before, so that every one would know what to bring for the next day, was seen to be so important that the group

decided to have a chairman, whose duty it would be to see that this was done. The original leader was, without debate, made chairman. The term " chairman " was attractive, and was copied by some of the other groups, but in a few cases, after being used, it was discarded, the children saying: " What do we want a chairman for? Every one knows what to do, anyway." In the cooking group, however, the chairman was a necessity.

The third or fourth thing that they wanted to cook was Charlotte Russe. When the group assembled there were no lady fingers. These were to have been brought by the boy. Since the cooking could not be carried on that day, the children had to go back to their seats and do some work which the teacher outlined for them. They were very much vexed at the boy and talked of asking him to leave the group. The boy said, however, that the fault was not his, but his mother's. His mother had told him that she was tired of giving him money all the time.

The group then went to the teacher about the mother problem. They wanted her to write to the mothers and say that they were to send the things the children asked for. The teacher did not look at the question in this light, and said she did not think that she could write to the mothers, since the group work was their own affair, in which they must depend upon themselves. They talked the matter over again, and the chairman finally said: " Well, it wasn't Harold's fault. It never would have happened if we hadn't let Harold bring so many things that cost money. For all the things we have cooked he has brought more than any of the rest of us. What we want to do is to get it evened up. Then those who can't bring money can bring eggs or butter or sugar, but no one should have to bring more than his share."

They perceived very clearly what they wanted, but they did not see the means by which it was to be accomplished. So they went to the teacher with the difficulty. " The recipes," they said, " give things by cupfuls or spoonfuls, while these same things are bought by the pound." The teacher pointed out to them that they could get, for instance, a pound of sugar and find out how many cupfuls were in it and then divide the cost of the pound by the number of cupfuls. This idea they grasped at once. But after they had got the cost of material by the cupful, they did not see how it could be divided evenly among the pupils. The teacher again showed them the simple averaging that was necessary, and although averaging is not usually introduced into the third grades, and they were never shown again, they used this method constantly and without errors throughout the rest of their work. The plan of the chairman to meet the mother problem turned out to be quite successful.

This cooking group, as it was first formed, was very harmonious, and the resistance that they had to overcome was almost wholly from the outside. It was the introduction of a new member which started friction and gave rise to internal resistances which for a time hampered the success of the work. A new pupil appeared in the grade, and as she was a merry, black-eyed little thing with attractive ways, she had an invitation to join from every one of the groups then organized. Of all these invitations she accepted the one from the group that were cooking "just to eat."

It was not long before trouble appeared. Bessy was constantly forgetting things. The chairman mothered her, pinning slips of paper on her coat to remind her, etc., all to no purpose. She would lick cream off spoons, refuse to wash dishes, etc., and, since the group were now in a little room by themselves, would act noisily, so that the rest of the group were afraid that their privileges might be withdrawn. At last they came to the teacher and complained, asking her to put Bessy out of the group. The teacher said: "I did not invite her, you know, to join your group; but I am very willing to do what I can. Just now, however, I have a meeting, and you'll have to wait here an hour till I return; then we can talk it all over." When she came back the children were gone, but on her desk was a note asking her to give the following papers, one from each member of the group, to Bessy.

"I think Bessy talks too much and I think she plays round the room too much, and I think she makes too much noise. Bessy did not bring her things while the others did to cook with. And she did not stay to print at nights after school only once or twice. She would not help wash the dishes. Then we told her we would put her out if she did not do the work, and we thought we could do better without her. Then she brought her things and helped wash the dishes, but she quarreled so. — L."

"I think that Bessy ought to get out of the group because she wants everything. — Harold."

"Bessy plays tag and she says, 'This is mine, this is mine.' And she is always fussing all the time. I think she ought to be put out of the group. — M."

"I think we could get along better in the group without Bessy because she talks too much, and disturbs us too much and we can't do so much work. And she wants to do all the work and no one else to do any of the work; she wants to do all the cooking. I think she should be put out. — M."

"Bessy plays tag when we are cooking and she is too fussy, and I think she talks too much and too loud and she is too noisy and she is always fussing and quarreling with the other children, and I think she ought to be put out of the group. — B."

"I think Bessy should be put out of the group because she does not help in printing and when we cook she quarrels with us. — S."

The papers were handed to Bessy as the children had requested. After reading them she took up her pen and wrote the following reply, in which it will be noted the beginning does not hang very well with the admissions at the end.

"Well, what I think about it, I have always brought the things they told me to bring and when they told me to print I have always done it. And to the other school we would talk so loud and I am so used to it. If they put me back again I would do lots better than I did before and I would bring the things they would tell me to and I would bring everything when they told me to and I would do everything."

They did not, however, take her back, nor was she ever invited into any other group while she remained in the school, a fact which did not seem to depress her in the least. Her family moved again before the end of the term, and Bessy departed with them.

The teacher asked the children why they had written the papers. The chairman replied that if one person told Bessy that the group didn't want her any more, she would be mad with that person (who probably would have been the chairman), and more than that, she might cry; while now there was no one in particular to be mad at, and if she wanted to cry, she could cry by herself.

To the student of government it is interesting to see how the children went to the teacher when it was a matter probably involving force. They wished to use the policeman power of the teacher to insure Bessy's removal. This, in case of any refusal on her part to leave, would naturally have been exercised. In the same way a clergyman or member of a church who is voted out is compelled to respect this decision by force of law if in no other way. The law, however, stands outside of the organization itself.

The method of writing on serious occasions was copied by some of the other groups. The following papers from another working group indicate a happier termination.

1. "Mildred as chairman. Mildred is not chairman and she wants to boss everything. I like her, but I do not want her to do everything. — L."

2. "What we think about Mildred. I think that Mildred is too bossy. I think that we ought to write to her and tell her what we think. She made a good chairman whether she bossed us or not, but she bossed us too much. — S."

Mildred replies as follows: —

"I think that what Sarah and Lila said was all right. I think that we will get along all right now and a good deal better. I think that the money is fixed. I think that we are going to have a better soup."

There was no doubt that Mildred had been bossy. We wondered indeed that the children had stood it so long. After this for a week Mildred was a marvel of self-control, but it wore on her and she persuaded her comrades to take turns in the chairmanship. Neither of them, however, had anything like the natural executive ability of Mildred, and they did not succeed so well. Nevertheless, Mildred made no comment. When it was her turn again, the others asked her to be chairman all the time, and to this she consented. She at times broke out in the old ways, but the others bore with it, and she herself was evidently anxious to improve in this respect. It can hardly be doubted that all the members of the group had in this experience a real lesson in ethics much more practical and persuasive than any formal instruction.

The third cooking group in this room was composed wholly of boys. They said: "We don't want to cook as these girls do. But if any one should be sick in the house, then we should like to be able to cook something." In accordance with this, the first thing they attempted to cook was beef tea. They inquired into everything that made the beef tea nutritious. They were told that it should not look gray when it was done, as that shows that the albumen in the meat, which is the same substance as the white of an egg, has become hardened and cannot be digested so quickly. They beat out of pieces of meat some of the juice and compared it with the white of an egg at the teacher's suggestion. They were perfectly free, however, not to do this if they did not wish to. This group did not last as long as the others, but broke up voluntarily, the boys joining other groups formed for other purposes.

During the year this class formed only fourteen groups. Among them were a photograph group, a group for modeling in clay, two sewing groups, two science groups, one printing group, and two groups for plays. The work of these groups was usually carried forward to a considerable degree of success.

The photographic group was composed of several boys. They fitted up a closet as a dark room. They were always looking for information on photography, and teachers often brought them books and pamphlets. To some extent they were photographers for the class, and they took photographs of some of the plays and made lantern slides for them. After they had been at work for several weeks the rest of the class wanted them to tell them something of their work. The group were a little doubtful about the capacity of the others to understand, but the leader thought of something which he believed would help in this respect. During the period for group work he fitted up his camera and focused it on some buildings opposite. He then called out, one after another, each member of the class, made him put his head under the cloth, and asked him, "What do you see?" "I see the buildings up-

side down." "Do you want to know why it's like that? If you do, we're going to show you next time."

This they did, explaining how the rays of light cross one another in the lens. The boys of this group kept a record of their work, and, as with the cooking group, bound it in a book. One boy made a small pinhole camera, which, without any lens, took some very fair photographs.

One of the plays given in this room was "The Sleeping Beauty." There was no dramatic version of this tale that the children knew of. They brought to school all the different editions of the story they could find, and started to turn it into dramatic form. This they did by arranging the cast first. "You may be the prince, and you the queen," etc. The members of the cast then began to extemporize the words. The action was thus first thought of. As they went on rehearsing, different members of the group would criticize the words used, saying, "That doesn't sound right." They avoided using big words or hard phrases from the book. They divided the story into scenes, made the costumes and strung a curtain on a wire in front of the teacher's desk. They used the blackboard as scenery, drawing on it the castle seen through a forest. To bring this in, a scene was invented which consisted of the prince inquiring of two countrymen his way to the castle. It was not until after the play had been nearly fixed in its final form that they began to write it down. By this time there were changes suggested and accepted about which a dispute would sometimes arise afterwards, but one of the main reasons for writing was pride in the play. One of the boys of this group was very desirous of learning typewriting. He brought an old machine to school, and, among other things, made a typewritten copy of the play. . . .

This plan created great interest in the homes, and the teacher was surprised to receive many requests from the mothers and other members of the family for permission to see it when presented. This, of course, was granted, and the simplicity of the play, with all the earmarks of genuine child production, was thoroughly appreciated by the audience.

The attitude of the teachers with relation to this play was the same as in the other groups. I may perhaps call myself one of the teachers, for I came into the room very frequently while the children were rehearsing. I used to think over what I had seen the day before, and see if I could add anything or offer any suggestion that the children would take up. Sometimes the children would say, "That's right, let's do it that way," but at other times they would shake their heads and say, No. It was at first a little disconcerting to be overruled, especially in matters where I was quite sure I was artistically correct; but I was consoled by the reflection that only those criticisms which they freely and voluntarily accepted were the ones which entirely

suited their stage of development, and when they rejected modifications of my proposing I saw that ethically, if not artistically, they were right. I felt that they were standing on their own feet with perfect honesty of conviction. Indeed, until they refused to do something which I had recommended, I was never quite sure that they were really independent. I knew, too, that it was a better example, to their minds, of real service to them than if I had insisted on my proposals.

To come in contact with realities in a child is the most attractive thing about teaching. It is these realities which we admire in children, and which afford the greatest pleasure to parents in their contact with them. In schools of the usual sort most of this naïve originality is overruled and crushed. It is feared that it may lead to lack of discipline, and, moreover, where the initiative flows continuously from the teacher, there is little room for it, and it comes out accidentally, if at all. The teacher thus robs himself of a great part of the pleasure of his work, becomes formal, " teachery," and at the same time blinds himself to the real capacities of the children.

The time which was at first allowed for this work was, as already said, three half-hours a week, but after a short time many of the groups began to say to the teacher that they wished they could have more time. They were sure that they could do a great deal better, if the time were extended. The teacher replied that she was not sure that every group could use the time well, and since it was a matter that concerned the whole class, she could not extend the time unless she was sure of this. The children used part of their group-work time to discuss this, and convinced the teacher that all would be benefited. She accordingly extended the time, at first two half-hour periods, and later on, after further requests, to three quarters of an hour per day. This contented the children of this age completely. Their power to plan seemed to be entirely used, and after this they never asked to have more time. The teacher noticed also that they were better satisfied to be carried along by her in work of her planning during the rest of the day than ever they had been before.

From my experience with six third-grade classes, I can say that no class ever asked for more time than an hour a day. These experiences thus show with a certain degree of conclusiveness that there is a distinct limit beyond which the children are not able to go. Whether it would always be best to go so far as this limit is not asserted. In the case cited it seemed, in view of the best interests and total work of the class, the wisest thing to do. The teacher constantly kept in mind the detail problems of her grade, particularly reading, writing and arithmetic. Many of the groups directly promoted interest and progress in the routine subjects, so that the class made as good advance along these lines as any class had previously done. Leaving

aside the higher concerns of character, resourcefulness and social organization, the teacher felt that, from the lower standpoint of subject matter alone, the time allowed was amply justified.

In this class there were four children who were never in any group. They did not desire to join any, and the teacher gave them work to do by themselves. They were all physically rather inert, and were always pleased to do as well as they could anything that the teacher directed.

In the other class, during this year, instead of fourteen groups there were thirty-eight formed, and there was no child who was not in one or more of these groups. This was in a class of fifty children, so that the percentage of leadership was high, probably over sixty per cent, — if we allow for some who were leaders of more than one group. When such a result is possible with children eight or nine years old, the outlook for democracy is good. Each child was in six or seven groups during the year, and there were usually about seven groups running at the same time. The teacher did not find these too many to keep in contact with, although there was some difficulty in getting time for consultation during the planning of each group and before it was started. The teacher pointed out this fact to the children, and it was proposed to put the plans in writing so that the teacher could read them at some other period. There was the advantage of definiteness in the writing, although children of this age only wrote the salient points, and verbal discussion was also necessary.

The moral and social effect of the organization of the groups, rather than the artistic perfection of the plays, is of course the first concern. In illustration of some of the effects on individual character, one or two experiences may be cited. There was a boy of great imagination, who had no difficulty in projecting any number of ideas, but who found carrying them out quite another matter. In the ordinary classroom work under the teacher his hand was always up, whether his answer was very much to the point or not. No ignoring or snubbing made any difference. It was felt by the teachers that he was given to "showing off." When self-organized group work started he was the originator of several groups. He left some of them, and was put out of others without ceremony. The formula in one group was, "Jack, you're fired; you talk too much and do nothing." To this he did not even answer, but turned on his heel and went off. At last he could get no one to join him in anything that he proposed, nor was he included in any other group. After a while he cultivated the friendship of a rather awkward and quiet boy who had just come to the school. It turned out that he was impressing him with the merits of a grand play that he had in his mind. The steadiness of this boy was sufficient to enable them in combination to get others, and the play was finally started.

As is easily seen, the social force in each little group ran out readily to the whole class, and tended to extend itself to the rest of the school and to the home. Although there was not always a direct recognition on the part of each group that they were working for the whole class, this was usually felt. In the plays it was intended from the beginning that they were to be offered to the class. When the first play was judged by the group running it to be as good as they could make it, the question of presenting it to the class was brought up before the teacher. She said that she could not give time on the program beyond what she had already given for group work, and therefore they would need to ask the rest of the class whether they wanted to give up the various things they were doing in order to hear the play. The group went before the class and told them that the play would take but ten minutes, and asked them if they cared to hear it enough to give up their own work. This was done, and some time was added on to discuss the play and ask questions about it.

Some of the pupils were in as many as fifteen different groups during the year. Of course these groups did not last so long as those referred to in the above paper. There was thus a variety of experience suitable for young children, and undue specialism was avoided. The whole class, moreover, was interested in everything done by each group.

During the year the same kind of work was introduced into the fourth grade, and here the pupils, during the latter part of the year, took possession of the large attic in the school and formed a village, with houses and workshops in different parts. There was a town-hall where the class met together as a whole. The different houses were furnished with wall paper, chairs, flowers, etc. Dishes were modeled in clay. One boy set up a battery of his own, made to run a bell as a signal to the villages. Calling was conducted formally, calling cards were printed, and a number of different activities were instituted.

C. A. Scott. Extracts from *Social Education*, Ginn and Company.

Comment on the Social Aspects of Class Instruction

The whole educative process, as far as it goes on at all, is one of the ways in which the group life of the school manifests itself. That is to say, the processes of study and of learning are not external activities, superenforced upon the little social group formed by the school. Everything the school does is influenced by the fact that it is a group, whether any conscious account is taken of the fact or not. In this we do not have specifically in mind such a type of school as has made a definite attempt to introduce social activities — so called. We shall

consider only the *average* school, and we wish to suggest that what goes on within it are definitely social activities; that, whether we will or no, whatever is attempted and whatever is done is, in every case, more than the summation of many individual purposes and acts, but are the resultants of the interaction of minds. This could be illustrated in many ways, but it will probably be more suggestive for present purposes to note the truth of the statement in those forms of activity which are usually considered the preëminent function of the school, viz. in the preparation and reciting of lessons. In these activities the teacher of course has his most characteristic function, at least traditionally speaking. But his actual function in this case is not *merely* that of a purveyor of certain objective facts which in one way and another he devises means of conveying to his pupils and then becomes a quiz master to determine how much the pupils have gotten and retained. Of course the teacher *may* seem to do merely this, but even on its lowest plane this process can never be mere mechanical transmission and testing of knowledge. The teacher can never even though crude he may be, eliminate *himself* — he will always be a *person* in the presence of his pupils and whatever he does, whether it be little or much, will always be saturated with the fact that he is a person and not a phonograph.

We say he cannot eliminate himself, and it is not desirable that he should, if he could, for, as we have seen, practically all our human problems have originated, in one way or another, through human association, and mental activity is stimulated and sustained by social pressure. Hence it is not even desirable that the teacher should step into the background when he has once brought the pupil and the facts to be learned together, hoping thus to develop initiative and independence in the pupil. It is not thus that these qualities of mind are developed, nor are they hindered in their development by the presence of others with the learner. It is only under these latter conditions that they can really appear in any normal way — and if the teacher finds that his presence tends to make the pupils dependent and lacking in energy, it can only be said that he has somehow missed the true way in which to associate with them. The point holds for *all* teaching. It is always a process between persons, and the whole gamut of influences implied in personality is inevitably brought to bear in every

process of teaching. It is not a question of whether the teacher should *be* a person or not, but as to *how* he shall make his personality operative.

Before following up this phase further, we should note another aspect of the situation, viz. the presence of other pupils. Whatever the teacher does is always done within the group formed by the teacher and the class and has its group effects — so with each act of the pupils. We thus see that the conception of teaching and of the recitation as a relatively mechanical process or one having no social background is altogether inadequate and misleading. Under all circumstances the work of teacher and pupils, in or out of the recitation, whether good or bad, is a social affair.

What are the consequences of this, or how should the process of teaching and of learning be stated, if they are to be taken socially rather than individually? As we have said, the teacher is a personality, "a psychical and moral object in the pupils' environment." As we have already shown, knowledge cannot be transferred bodily from one mind to another — it must be built up by each one for himself. This very conception plays directly into our social theory, for once the mechanical transmission of knowledge is seen to be impossible the teacher as a *social* factor appears, *i.e.* the way in which the teacher exerts his influence is of necessity along social lines. The situation between teacher and pupils is exactly that which we have sketched as characteristic of the relations of people in life outside the school; the influences are of the same sort and the results are the same; except that here the process may be controlled and hence conducted with more economy. Outside of the school, as we have seen, problems arise in many ways through social intercourse. Intellectual activity is so stimulated, and different individuals contribute to the solution of problems. It is essentially a complicated give-and-take process. It is the same in the school as far as there is any activity of an educative sort and not mere stagnation.

We have seen that, in general, the social group tends to be the medium through which problems arise, or at least when a problem has arisen, *interest* in it is maintained through social intercourse, and that the final working out of the problem is apt to be due to the contributions of many different individuals. It is usually impossible for one person to see all sides of a question, and hence only by coöperation

either simultaneous or successive can a really successful solution be brought to pass. As we have also pointed out, the individual's interest is apt to fluctuate, but if his interest is shared by others, it is more apt to survive the fluctuations and even to be sustained and intensified. No one doubts that a problem felt by a real social group can command more *intense* effort of different individuals than if it is felt by one person only.

Now, in just the same way, in the class or even in the school, not merely will questions appear which are directly related to the mere fact that a number of people are thus brought into rather close relationship, but farther than this, the interaction of minds, teacher's and pupil's, will be productive of questions which would not have come to them separately. That is to say, in the subject matter studied, natural questions will appear through *the very fact that many different minds are at work upon it.*

We have made the point in an earlier section that much of real growth comes through the organization and application of one's powers in the solution of problems which are for the individual genuine, and hence full of appeal. It has possibly seemed to the reader that the proposal that all education should proceed through problems imposed conditions which, practically, are almost impossible to meet, however desirable they may be otherwise. And the difficulty is a genuine one if the pupil is considered in isolation. When, however, he becomes a part of a social group, as he almost inevitably does, if he has a teacher and is in a class, a possible solution of the difficulty appears, for it is in such conditions, as our previous discussion has shown, that problems may be expected to arise quite normally and spontaneously. If the activity is really of the group sort, the problems will be quite genuine, and the effort of each pupil will be stimulated and sustained. It has been stated, also, that no facts can in any proper sense be transferred bodily from one mind to another; that what is really done is to stimulate a constructive activity which results in the building up within the learner of ideas which may be *analogous* to those of the instructor, but *not the same.* In the situation of informal conversation and discussion and in the true recitation, we have the nearest approach to what might appear a mere transfer of fact from teacher to pupil. But this is possible because the mental action of both is moving along the same line, each contributing to the move-

ment; and the solution or other ideas, which each finally share, are really resultants of coöperation in the solution of the question in hand; the process has been one of genuine "give-and-take." We share most nearly the mental contents of others when we are working with them toward a common end. Under such conditions, we wish to emphasize the interchange of thought as not only normal, but truly educative — *i.e.* it is *interchange* and not *mere transfer*. What the teacher gives the pupil, the pupil feels the need of, and really appropriates, and, on the other hand, the reaction of the pupil upon the problem will be suggestive in many ways even to the teacher.

We may assert, then, that the true effectiveness of the recitation and of teaching generally lies in the fact that it is some sort of "give-and-take" process between teacher and pupils and between the pupils themselves. We say *some sort* because it *always* occurs in varying degrees as far as there is any teaching and learning at all.

We thus see that we have here conditions of utmost significance for effective learning, or, more generally, for genuine growth. The point in mentioning and discussing them in detail is that we may have a better conception of the conditions of the process, and hence be better able to get the full value afforded by the social situation.

TOPICS FOR STUDY

1. To what extent does Scott's self-organized group work succeed in making the things to be learned material of personal intercourse between pupils and instructors and between the children themselves?
2. How can social interests and social motives be infused into elementary arithmetic and elementary science?
3. Discuss the view held by some educators that the personality of the teacher should disappear as much as possible in instruction.
4. Is there, on the other hand, danger of the teacher's being too much in evidence? Why?
5. To what extent might it be said that present-day class work is too largely dominated by the teacher? Give evidences of.
6. Ways in which instinctive social relations of children in school hours are apt to be repressed.
7. In what way does the teacher's relation to pupils present abnormal or unnatural social aspects? See Mead.
8. Contrast the social atmosphere in a well-regulated home and that in the school with reference to their relations to learning.

9. Extent to which problems are of social origin.

10. Justify the statement that real instruction involves an interchange of experience, an interaction of personalities, in which the child brings something which he actively contrasts and compares with that furnished by teacher or book.

11. The conversational ideal in the school.

12. What various conclusions may be drawn from Burnham with reference to school instruction?

13. What do you conclude as to the relative values of home and school study?

14. Of individual *vs.* group study.

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CHAPTER XX

THE CORPORATE LIFE OF THE SCHOOL IN RELATION TO MORAL TRAINING

Social Aspects of Moral Training

EVERY institution has its moral atmosphere and tone. Strong personalities establish the standards and cut the patterns which persist year after year by imitation and repetition. The children come and go, but the institution with its traditions, its moral standards, its rules and regulations, chiseled as it were in adamant, remains. Its molds and dies give shape to all who pass through. Moral training with children is more a matter of atmosphere and standard, of example and imitation, than of formal instruction.

The various forms of education and training discussed in previous chapters of this book are shot through with moral relations. These, however, may not appear in the consciousness of the child. It is important that they should appear and that they should exercise a controlling influence; for morality is a quality of character, and not merely a mental acquisition. One may be trained intellectually, industrially or economically without being moral. Character, however, is not made up of separate compartments. Each child is a unit, although a very complex one. If the character is morally sound, its expression in every direction — social, intellectual, industrial, economic, etc. — will be moral.

An education which does not rest on a moral foundation is worse than ignorance. The goal of the entire educative process is moral character. Conceding the truth of this proposition, as almost all parents and teachers do, it is remarkable that instruction in morals receives so little attention from them. The National Education Association is the most representative body of educators in the country. In running through the annual reports of the past fifty years of its history, one finds a surprising dearth of matter on the subject of teaching morals. Each branch of the curriculum in its manifold aspects of content and method has been treated again and again, and great progress in the making of a course of study better adapted to the needs of the children, and of the times has undoubtedly resulted from

these discussions. But instruction in morals has never received extended or intensive treatment at the hands of this great association, and from the present status of moral instruction in our public schools as compared with any former period, it is not easy to see that any progress whatever in this field has been made.

In his paper before the meeting of the National Council of Education at Los Angeles, in 1907, Mr. Clifford W. Barnes, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the International Committee on Moral Training, said: "Generally speaking, systematic moral instruction may be said to have no place in our American school system, for it has only been tried to a very limited extent in a few small places."

It is not difficult to see why our public schools have made such indifferent progress in the teaching of morality during the past fifty years. The deterioration of the home as a center of moral influence during the same period is also easily accounted for. Our public school system was established as an adjunct to the home and the church at a time when both of these institutions stood for much more in the life of the child than they do to-day. It was established at a time when the child was much less a ward of the state than he is to-day; when life was rural, and homes were houses and lands, with firesides and gardens, not tenement boxes; when the course of study was rich in the literature of moral and religious truth; when religion was potent in the home, parental authority was unquestioned, and the church and the minister functioned largely in every community.

These conditions have all changed. The delinquent child of to-day is the product of city and town life. Out of one hundred and thirty thousand children in our reformatories, ninety-eight per cent come from cities, towns and villages. In Baltimore, crime is said to be fifty per cent greater in the slum district than in the city at large; in Chicago over two hundred per cent greater.

With the growth of factory industries the home as an industrial center has steadily declined. With the elimination from home life of the old-fashioned chores and daily responsibilities for home-making service and industries has come the breaking down of family discipline and parental control. Occupation and behavior must go hand in hand. Children cannot behave if they have nothing to do.

Along with the weakening of home influence has come an immigration of a million or more foreigners annually, — parents too ignorant to learn our language, with children quick to grasp the privileges of American liberty, but without the sense of self-control or civic responsibility which safeguard it. The result of all these disintegrating factors upon child life is not only an increase of juvenile depravity, but a ratio of precocious crime and delinquency not known a half century ago.

While only a passive agent in the moral deterioration of the home resulting from these social, economic and industrial changes, the state has been an active agent in the elimination of religious instruction from the public school. Moral instruction in the earlier period of education in this country was inseparably bound up with religious instruction. But through the gradual drawing away of the public schools from church influence, the function of the teacher as a monitor in religious matters has been greatly reduced, the literature of religious truth, as such, excluded from the classroom, and the whole situation secularized to such an extent as to effect almost a complete elimination of religious instruction from public education. This condition has forced a schism between religious and moral instruction, and left the latter swinging in the air. Whether the state could have done otherwise and yet safeguarded in the public schools our American ideals of freedom of conscience and religious liberty, is a question. Our only purpose here is merely to call attention to the fact. Whatever may be true of the ability of the mature mind to form moral conceptions and act upon moral grounds independent of religious feeling or of the consciousness of a Supreme Being, it is certainly true that such ethical abstractions do not appeal to the child mind.

At each step in the elimination of religious instruction from public schools, society has assumed increased risk. Public elementary education is the extension downward of the nation's authority by moral suasion. It is the peaceful arm of the police system before it has become necessary to display the blue coat, brass buttons and locust wand. The only rational and adequate means within the power of a democracy to conserve and perpetuate herself, her laws and her institutions, is through public education. We are expending immense sums of money trying to correct grievous ills by legislation. This is attempting to effect social uplift by throwing our weight on the short arm of the lever. It is a thousand times better to form than to reform. The children of to-day make the state of to-morrow. Nine tenths of these children receive their education in the public elementary schools. Character by culture through education, instead of by laws and penalties, should be the aim of society. An education which is not moral is unsafe both for the individual and for the state.

Not only is the public school shorn of much of its power for moral instruction by excluding from it all religious instruction, but it is also further handicapped as a moral influence by the fact that ordinary academic instruction does not offer a large field for moral action. The end of moral training is freedom. Freedom is liberty of choice coupled with sufficient moral insight and self-control to choose the right; for choosing what is wrong results in a limitation of freedom. One is free who does as he pleases, but pleases to do right. Moral training is,

therefore, not merely informing the intellect by means of moral standards and ideals, but it is forming the will to choose aright. Character has been defined as a perfectly formed will, but it must be understood that the principal agent in forming the will is the will itself. The will, building character by its own conscious acts, is the supreme aim of moral training.

The child that is trained up "in the way he should go will not depart from it," because his will has become morally formed, and he does not choose to. How to provide the child with a moral experience rather than simply moral ideas, is the problem we have to work out in moral training. We all distrust direct moral instruction, and yet in our public schools are scarcely able to furnish an environment that contains anything worth while in the way of moral experience. The point of contact between teacher and pupil is intellectual and academic rather than moral and practical.

School life as the child finds it is forced and artificial. It is not real life, and the child knows it. The material with which the school deals is remote from the child's natural interests. He fails to see its connection with practical everyday living. He, therefore, does not take it as seriously and genuinely as he does his life outside the school. If to him the environment is artificial, the content of his studies unrelated to the life about him, the moral standards required of him in the schoolroom will likewise be merely academic. This rather empty and negative condition of the public school, with respect to moral training, would be greatly relieved through an enrichment of the school curriculum and a vitalizing of its activities by an infusion of the warm current of the child's everyday interests and experiences outside the school. Unless we are able to do this, we must be content ourselves with merely skimming the ground of moral training in public school education.

That which reaches the child through his experience is tenfold more a part of him than that which comes to him through mere ideas or sensory stimulus. One moral experience is worth a score of formal lessons in morality. One of the boys in our garden class stole radishes from another boy's garden and was caught in the act by two or three of his companions. All of the gardeners were at once assembled; the boy and his case were set before them. After some informal discussion a motion was made by one of the children that the boy forfeit his garden. It was one of the best in the plot, and he had spent much time on it, but by his deed he had violated property rights and thus forfeited his right of its ownership. The motion was unanimously carried. When the assembly was asked if there was any further business concerning the matter, it was moved by one of the children that this boy be required "to weed all of the other gardens." This motion

was not entertained by the chair, but would no doubt have carried if a vote had been taken on it: first, because recent rains had greatly increased the growth of weeds in the gardens; second, because of natural laziness in relation to such work as weeding gardens; and third, because the thief was an unpopular boy.

Soon after the walls and ceilings of one of the boys' cottages in our Orphanage had been decorated, a boy made with a nail an ugly scratch about ten feet long through the paint on the wall of one of the dormitories. This is the boy referred to in the chapter on Punishment, who was brought to the office by other boys of the cottage with the request that he be "everlastingly licked." But they were shown that there was no connection between the culprit's offense and a "licking." They were then given some instruction as to principles of punishment with special reference to the fact that punishment should bear a natural relation to the offense, and that it should, when possible, take the form of an indeterminate sentence. The matter was referred back to the boys for further deliberation. The decision reached and presented the following day was that the boy should sleep in the attic, going to bed in the dark, until such time as it was thought safe for him to return to the dormitory. He was kept sleeping in the attic for about six weeks.

Several interesting inferences may be drawn from such instances as these. First, that children are capable of rational action upon moral questions. Second, that it is unsafe to give absolute authority into their hands, as has been attempted in some of our school government schemes; for children are emotional and may be mercilessly cruel in passing judgment and executing moral or governmental functions. Third, that participation in government under proper restriction is an essential factor in the training of the future citizens of a democracy, and that helping to discipline and govern others promotes self-government. Not one case of stealing from gardens has been reported, or to our knowledge has occurred since this case, which happened three years ago. The damage to the wall was repaired, and no similar case of vandalism in the cottage has occurred for about the same period.

Each new boy received into the cottage comes up against a moral leverage with respect to certain home-making refinements, group ideals and industrial standards, which he cannot resist. He is seized and shaped to the molds by forces which he cannot withstand. The same may be true with respect to moral standards in any school, if the teacher works wisely and diligently to establish them.

Children, as far as they are able to understand, should be conscious of the process through which they are passing. Nothing will secure their coöperation more surely than to understand your purposes concerning them, the habits which you want them to form, and the principles which you want regnant in their lives. I have found it a good

plan to place before them for solution problems in child training concerning themselves and other children. Attempts to solve such problems lead the child to introspection and self-inquiry. You fight the battle alone in training a child if you do not have his conscious coöperation in the work. He is your strongest ally against the foes that are within or the temptations without. A thorough system of discrimination with respect to individual merit or demerit discipline, scholarship, service rendered, etc., is an important factor in moral training. Nothing is more wholesome and helpful to the child than to know he stands on his own feet, that he is not merely one of a crowd.

In this Orphanage we endeavor to reward every best effort or excellency in the work and conduct of each child, and to offer numerous opportunities for individual initiative along many lines. This is especially needed in institutional life, where the besetting sin is pretty sure to be dead levelism. Make the boys and girls conscious of this fact, and open ways for them to escape from such a condition, and they will break through the crust of solidarity which may have settled over them like a pall.

Moral training requires that children should be put upon their honor and trusted. Responsibility lies at the very foundation of morality. Children are quick to sense the moral atmosphere in which they are placed. If it is one of distrust, they immediately respond with its natural accompaniment, deception. The less you trust children, the less worthy of trust do they grow. It is better to trust and be deceived than not to trust at all. Expect much in this regard and you will get much. Distrust and lack of confidence beget irresponsibility and delinquency. The sense of moral guilt is much keener when the child betrays or abuses a trust than it is if he does wrong when expected to do so if he gets a chance. Wrongdoing should be a surprise and not a matter of course.

No more surveillance and coercion in moral action should be exercised than is absolutely necessary. The coercion may not be that of a personal force, but rather that of a system. There should be a progression from younger to older in the matter of responsibility. The playgrounds of our Orphanage are open and unfenced. Our children are not under surveillance while at play any more than are the children of any well-regulated family. A child can run away if he wants to. No one is watching him to see that he does not run away, any more than you would have some one watch your own children in a country home. The boys wander over most of the place (comprising over forty acres) in their play, or after cherries, chestnuts or wild flowers. Every pleasant Sunday afternoon the children take walks into the country. They go in groups of from three to twenty, the girls always accompanied by some older person, the boys usually without escort other than

one or two of their own number. Children fourteen years of age or older frequently make visits of several days or weeks to relatives, for we believe in strengthening kinship ties where they are safe and proper. Our children go to New York, Yonkers and Hastings on errands frequently and alone. About fifty weeks of visiting with relatives and friends were among the privileges which the boys and girls of the Orphanage enjoyed during the past year.

Ample opportunity must be provided for the child to exercise freedom of choice whenever consistent with his highest good. Nothing makes for individual responsibility like the exercise of free choice. Since the child will soon be sent forth into the world, where he will do all of his own choosing, it is important that he should do some of it now, while under training, as a preparation for that greater responsibility. The child of fourteen should have wider range of free choice than the child of twelve.

The superintendent of a New York institution some time ago received a letter from the people to whom an orphan child fifteen years of age was apprenticed, stating that the child would never take a bath unless made to do so. The regular custom in the institution was two baths a week for all the children. As this child had been in the institution about ten years, it had repeated the practice of bathing about a thousand times, and yet the habit of taking a bath had not been formed. In a subjective or psychological sense, however, this child had really never taken a bath. If we analyze the complex process of taking a bath into its elements, we note the following: feeling the need of a bath, desire to satisfy the need, choosing the time, manner and conditions for taking a bath, and finally the application of soap and water. With but one of these steps had the child had anything whatever to do during the entire ten years of her life in the institution. Hence the child had not acquired the habit of bathing.

The forming of a habit above the level of mere instinct requires something more than repetition. If feeling, desire and choice are necessary steps in the act which is to become habitual, they must function in the genetic process of establishing the habit. Without purposeful effort no habit will be formed even by endless repetition. This is why institutionalism is so empty and barren of intelligent response in character and efficiency on the part of those who have been subjected to its stupefying régime.

Public sentiment may become as potent a factor for moral uplift among children as among adults. Almost unlimited possibilities for good lie in this comparatively neglected field in school discipline. Two of my children attended a high school in Massachusetts where there was almost no cheating or cribbing, and what little there was, was frowned upon by the students; the tone of the school was against

it. Later on, they attended school in another state where there was no sentiment against cribbing, and the practice was very prevalent.

I am confident if the garden thief and the cottage vandal had been dealt with as individuals only other similar cases would have followed, no matter what the punishment might have been. The inflicting of punishment upon a child for an offense against his fellows, by the one in authority, is by no means so effective as punishment administered by the social group injured or caused to suffer by the offense. In the latter case the moral standards of the community are defined and established by the social whole. Each individual shares in the influence and uplift of every moral judgment. The culprit also accepts his punishment with better grace, feels the force of the moral standards of the community more strongly, and is much less liable to experience feelings of personal resentment than he is when the punishment is decreed and administered by an individual.

Every enrichment of the child's life, every new interest in play, industry or study, every increase of liberty or possession, brings new temptations. But interests and temptations, industry and freedom, constitute life. They furnish the concrete situations and conditions in which moral relations arise.

G—— and K——, two boys of the Orphanage, have an unusually elaborate tree hut built some fifteen feet above the ground in a clump of chestnut trees. They wanted a waterproof roof on it. Workmen on the place were using tar paper for damp proofing the walls of a new cottage in process of construction. The boys stole — or you may say, "carried off" — two half rolls of tar paper for use in their playhouse enterprise. At the same time they greatly needed a saw, which they also found in the contractor's outfit and appropriated. The circumstance offered an opportunity for moral instruction and moral training of which we have many in the Orphanage, and always will have as long as the children have possessions and carry on constructive play. To make things, own things and do things is life; and life — real life — is moral. In the assembly of boys it was voted that these boys should return the stolen property, apologize to the contractor, and promise not to take anything more. They also understood that any repetition of the offense would mean a forfeit of their ownership of the house.

A——, a fourteen-year-old boy, has a dovecote which he built last year. He is raising pigeons. He needed food for them and stole a generous supply from the poultry feed room of the Orphanage. The desire to use rather than to possess was the chief motive in the theft. In the former case it was a suggestion to those in authority that children should be provided with material for their playhouse enterprises, or at least be given honest means of providing it for themselves. In the latter case, opportunity to buy, or to earn by labor, food for pets

was suggested and thereafter offered. It is a wise parent or teacher whose foresight is equal to these natural demands of the child's interest, and who anticipates them far enough in advance to prevent dishonest outbreaks.

Direct as well as indirect instruction in morals should be given to children. The fear of making a moral lesson or application too direct or too obvious has become a fetish with many parents and teachers, and the result often is that no moral instruction whatever is given. The old-fashioned appeal, "Is it right?" and "Do right," are seldom heard nowadays; and yet as long as the human mind has a conscience it is well to press these claims upon it, abstract as they are, for the response will usually be morally uplifting. In attempting to adjust methods of discipline and instruction to the caprice of the child, many parents and teachers have themselves become opportunists, relying upon devices and expedients rather than upon principles. I once knew an indulgent mother who was unable to get her young son to bed without resorting to devices, one of which was for a member of the family to impersonate a hotel proprietor, receive the boy as a guest and show him his room.

The three following cases, in which direct instruction given in season would no doubt have served as prevention, are typical of other similar ones which have come within my experience. An undersized fourteen-year-old boy, when asked why he was so small for his age, told me he could not account for his lack of physical development and vigor unless it was due to smoking cigarettes, from about seven years of age until brought to the Orphanage School. He said he did not know the habit would injure him. He is a good boy, trustworthy and well disposed, and would no doubt never have formed the habit had he been properly instructed.

M——, now fourteen years of age, brought with her when she entered the school four years ago, a vulgar Bowery song which she immediately proceeded to teach to the other little girls. The song was brought to the office by an older girl. The child showed little knowledge of the meaning of the song when questioned concerning it, and is now, four years later, one of the most refined girls in the school.

K——, at fifteen years of age, told me what a hard struggle he had had to break up an injurious personal habit after my first conference with the boys on the subject some two years before; also, that he had not known the practice was wrong or would work injury to him, until so instructed.

Just as school nurses and settlement workers find, in thousands of homes, deplorable ignorance concerning dietary, sanitation, the care of the children and the sick, resulting in ill health and a high mortality rate, so may teachers, if they inquire, find distressing ignorance among

school children concerning personal habits, purity, temperance, righteous living, etc., resulting every year in a record of juvenile delinquency, vice and crime. In such cases there is need of direct instruction, and, if properly given, it will go a long way toward enlightenment and prevention.

Rudolph R. Reeder, *How Two Hundred Children Live and Learn*, Chapter VII.

The Social Basis of Moral Education

The problem of moral training is primarily a phase of the larger problem of social education. This fact is admirably illustrated in the preceding extract from Dr. Reeder's book. Although it refers specifically to conditions in an institution for dependent children, the social life is apparently so normal and well-balanced that it is quite typical of what is possible in other sorts of schools. Dr. Reeder's discussion of the social conditions of sound moral development is also particularly clear and forceful and merits the most serious study, especially with reference to ways in which these principles may be worked out in the public schools.

The recognition of the social basis of moral education has come in part from a fuller appreciation of the nature of morality. This is seen to-day to be essentially a social phenomenon. Apart from participation in social life, the principles and precepts of ethics have no significance. It is through social intercourse, through intimate cooperative and competitive activity, that rules of conduct have slowly evolved. Elementary moral laws are clearly present in the social life of all savage peoples. There are laws of the chase, of war, of the proper division of food, laws which prescribe the form of the camp and the conduct of the youths, especially toward their elders. All these regulations are the direct consequences of human associations. It would be inconceivable that they should ever be thought of, much less practiced, if these savages were not social creatures. Out of these primitive face-to-face social relations develop higher moral laws; from them come our conception of the good and the bad, of the vices and the virtues of the moral idea of standards of conduct.

The savage boy receives his moral training by participating in the actual social life about him. So have the youth of all stages of culture, even to our own. All ideas regarding right and wrong that possess

any vitality, all conceptions of noble virtue and of compelling ideals, have come through the social medium and have been defined and reënforced by the examples of others, whether mother, playmate, friend or great historical character.

This sort of moral training has been going on in all ages, and is as effective to-day as it ever was. It is noteworthy, however, that when the instituted agencies of education have undertaken the moral training of the children, these primary conditions of moral growth have often been ignored. Some abstract and purely formed method has usually been adopted and practiced. Thus, in European schools the attempt is made to hand over ready-made moral principles to boys and girls. Certain things are taught as good, other things as bad; simple ethical principles are taught in the same formal way that the principles of arithmetic or the rules of grammar are studied out of books and memorized as so many external facts. The same methods have been tried and are being tried in this country to some extent, although, in most schools on the whole, little attention, comparatively, is given to the matter of moral training.

Formal instruction in morals is good as far as it goes, but it needs supplementing by opportunities for practice. Its inherent defect is that it is apt to give only an intellectual recognition of the principles of conduct. Mere knowledge of what is right unfortunately does not always make a person do the right. The formal instruction, however, is not to be entirely condemned or rejected. Indeed, it has a place if it is accompanied by proper reënforcement through healthful social relations. The savage tribes usually tell their children explicitly what they shall and shall not do, — but their moral training does not stop with this. It is continued and illustrated and emphasized in every detail of familiar daily social intercourse and social duties.

Moral training is, as suggested, not dependent upon whether we are thinking about it or not. It does not stop when we cease our formal instruction. This, however, does not render the problem of moral education less important. It suggests rather new lines of attack. Instead of confining our attention to the purely formal aspects, necessary as they are, it indicates other and even more important avenues of moral training which can be rendered vastly more effective by systematically taking them into account. Instead of ignoring the social

aspect, the effort to-day is to understand it better and utilize it as far as may be possible, without robbing it of its effectiveness. The informal relations of intimate social interaction are admitted to have a character-forming value. But the character thus formed is not always of desirable sorts. The street gang furnishes a social atmosphere which has profound character-forming capacity, but unfortunately character of the worst sort. In the ordinary country village, there are powerful influences at work to shape the life and ideals of boys and girls. But partly because nobody pays any attention to them, these influences are apt to be vicious rather than uplifting.

The recognition of the possibility of controlling and shaping social life so that it may contribute to the moral uplift of the community is one of the aspects of the modern impulse for conservation. It is well known that in modern industry everything is utilized; the waste products are becoming less and less every year. Things once thrown aside as valueless are now turned to account and found to be the most profitable aspects of the business. The by-products of the packing houses are said to be worth more to-day than the meat products.

In education, likewise, we are realizing that there are many opportunities for effecting educational results which in times past have been entirely ignored. We hardly dare predict the results when we shall set about to turn to some definite account the hitherto neglected opportunities for moral education.

These opportunities are particularly those which are afforded by the social life of the school. This social life which in uncontrolled ways is making moral character of a somewhat uncertain, nondescript type may be vastly more effective in the production of moral character of a better sort, if the teacher can realize in general how much depends upon the social relations, and specifically how to organize the details of these relations so as to accomplish a high, rather than a low, order of character development.

The first point to recognize is that the school is a " primary " social group. Like all " primary groups " — *e.g.* the family or neighborhood — it is a veritable nursery of human nature. It affords peculiar opportunity for intimate, face-to-face coöperation and community of interest which are of supreme value in the formation of sound moral ideals. All that was said in a previous chapter about primary groups

and primary ideals has specific application here. In the group life of the school is the soil from which may spring up quite naturally those fundamental qualities of human nature which are the raw material of all character, — namely, loyalty, truthfulness, coöperation, endurance, justice, kindness.

These qualities do not have to be implanted in the children; they are there to start with, waiting only for a little encouragement to call them forth. The encouragement needed is little more than face-to-face coöperative and competitive work and play. Without any oversight, by wise teachers these qualities burst forth, but are often narrowed in scope and perverted in function, as is seen in the street gang and in the unsupervised playground. Nor is supervision of the primary groups of school and playground inconsistent with the attainment of their moral possibilities. As far as the playground is concerned, it is recognized by all who have given attention to it that supervision is not only necessary, but is welcomed by the children as the condition under which all can enjoy its opportunities most fully. Neither is it inconsistent with the best moral possibilities of the school that its social life should be consciously supervised and molded with a view of obtaining the full limit of the social forces which spring up there, whether one will or no.[1]

The first consideration and the one of most general importance is that the social life of the school shall be natural and as nearly as possible a reproduction of the healthiest social life of the community and of the country. If the boy or girl is to participate intelligently in the activities of the larger society, he must be trained along these lines in the school. If he is to be a member of a democratic and progressive society, he should attend a school dominated by the principles which lie at the basis of such a society. "He must be educated for leadership as well as for obedience. He must have power of self-direction and power of directing others, power of administration, ability to assume positions of responsibility." These are qualities quite essential to success in modern society, and they are prime essentials to effective moral character. If the school is a vital social institution, these qualities will be nourished and developed. If it is not, they will be correspondingly neglected.

[1] See Reeder, pp. 65–69.

"In a certain city there is a swimming school where youth are taught to swim without going into the water, being repeatedly drilled in the various movements which are necessary for swimming. When one of the young men so trained was asked what he did when he got into the water, he laconically replied, 'Sunk.' The story happens to be true; if it were not, it would seem to be a fable, made expressly for the purpose of typifying the prevailing status of the school, as judged from the standpoint of its ethical relationship to society. The school cannot be a preparation for social life excepting as it reproduces, within itself, the typical conditions of social life. The school at present is engaged largely upon the futile task of Sisyphus. It is endeavoring to form practically an intellectual habit in children for use in a social life which is, it would seem, carefully and purposely kept away from any vital contact with the child who is thus undergoing training. The only way to prepare for social life is to engage in social life. To form habits of social usefulness and serviceableness apart from any direct social need and motive, and apart from any existing social situation, is, to the letter, teaching the child to swim by going through motions outside of the water. The most indispensable condition is left out of account, and the results are correspondingly futile." [1]

The first problem of moral education is, then, that of providing in the little social group of the school real copies of normal social relationships, of developing in it "an embryonic typical community life." Without such provision all moral training will be in part formal and in part artificial and incapable of connecting with the inevitable conditions of the larger world. In the world of adult society, for example, the normal individual is not consciously hedged about by all sorts of restrictions. He is not restrained from wrongdoing by the knowledge that the eye of the law is ever watching him, ever ready to repress him. In fact, he thinks very little about the limitations imposed upon him. He is busy with his vocation, which is probably a decent one and one which is an avenue for some definite service to society as well as a means of livelihood for himself and family. He is not constantly harassed by the fear that he may do something forbidden by the law. If he should constantly feel himself under surveillance by

[1] Dewey, *Ethical Principles underlying Education*, pp. 13, 14. Reprinted from the *Third Yearbook of the National Herbart Society*.

the officers of the law lest he *might* do something wrong, his productive capacity would be cut in two. As it is, he is constantly stimulated to do his best in his particular line through the knowledge that he has a work of his own and that it is work which is worth something to others as well as to himself. The major part of his attention is directed, not toward avoiding wrongdoing, but performing positive service. This holds true in practice with even the humblest worker, even though he may not state the matter to himself in any such sophisticated fashion. No one can doubt that these social conditions have a great moral value for the individual, or that he develops in character under their influence.

The school, however, seldom works along such lines. "Too often the teacher's concern with the moral life of pupils takes the form of alertness for failures to conform to school rules and routine. These regulations, judged from the standpoint of the development of the child at the time, are more or less conventional and arbitrary. They are rules which have been made to order that the existing modes of school work may go on; but the lack of inherent necessity in these school modes reflects itself in a feeling, on the part of the child, that the moral discipline of the school is arbitrary. Any conditions that compel the teacher to take note of failures rather than of healthy growth give false standards and result in distortion and perversion. Attending to wrongdoing ought to be an incident rather than a principle. The child ought to have a positive consciousness of what he is about, so as to judge his acts from the standpoint of reference to the work which he has to do. Only in this way does he have a vital standard, one that enables him to turn failures to account for the future."[1]

The moral value of work in which a person can truly express himself is strikingly illustrated in an increasingly large number of modern reform schools. Of these the Junior Republic previously discussed is typical. The majority of those entering these schools have never felt the restraining influence of any definite work. As Mr. George says, the "physical energy, vitality, superabundance of spirits, in the normal boy, is bound to have some outlet." If he has no definite work into which he can turn his energy, if he "is irresponsible, carefree, because he has parents, friends or some society to furnish food

[1] Dewey, *Ethical Principles underlying Education.*

and comfort," he is almost sure to sow wild oats liberally. When such a one is made responsible for his own support, and has aroused in him an interest in property, he is likely to experience a moral transformation. In other words, when he is thrown into a social group where the normal economic conditions of adult society prevail, he learns for the first time what it means to work steadily and patiently, and in this way rapidly acquires the interests and becomes adjusted to the restraining influences that prevail among normal adults. The thoroughness with which the most vicious and lawless characters are made over into law-abiding citizens by being thus subjected to the influences of a normal social group is convincing proof that moral development is dependent upon a social medium which provides definite responsibility in the shape of work and property and with it the opportunity for that social service which each one performs who pursues a vocation with skill and industry.

Perhaps these measures would be too drastic for the boy or girl who had not strayed into actual criminality. We cannot be too mindful that in many quarters children are systematically robbed by modern industry of the joyfulness and freedom that belong to childhood. The evil of child labor is not merely that it is exhausting physically and mentally and thus prevents natural growth, but also that it is *imposed* upon its victims. They are mere drudges, not finding in their work any opportunity for joyful self-expression. The work that is morally uplifting is not of the exhausting, externally imposed type, but rather that which gives organized healthful outlets to the impulses of self-activity. "The farmer boy, in his wide range of daily tasks, from milking the cows and feeding the pigs in the morning to digging the potatoes for dinner, weeding the garden in the afternoon, and finally littering the stables at night, may expend ten times as much energy as the factory boy, and go to bed tired at night, but it is wholesome work, and out of it all he will get a good deal of fun and no end of physical tone and appetite." [1]

If, then, children are ever to become desirable factors in human society, they must begin in their formative period to acquire some of the qualities of life which will be demanded of them. If participation in the interests and activities of a normal social group has

[1] Reeder, p. 92.

such salutary effect upon the lawless child, may it not have values that should be secured also for the normal boy or girl? For every age above babyhood there is a normal requirement of work and responsibility. To deprive the child of this privilege is to deprive him of the conditions of normal growth.

This artificiality of the school atmosphere is an outcome of the tendency of the school, as an institution, to develop a life of its own which becomes more or less independent of the society that it serves. When the entire community was active in the training of its children the atmosphere of education was identical with that of the social group. It is perhaps inevitable that it would lose its vital social quality as the school is differentiated and gradually acquires a peculiar technique and traditions of its own.

But this is an age in which the maximum of productivity is demanded of all investments. The same constant and careful scrutiny which is being applied to other lines of human activity to insure the best returns must be applied to the school. Its tendency to become isolated and artificial, natural though that tendency may be, must be constantly checked by the determined effort of wise teachers. A more widespread conception of the school as a social institution and as one of the media of social conservation and regeneration must displace the narrow idea of its function as that for merely imparting a little formal knowledge. This intelligent appreciation of the meaning of the school will exert a constant influence in preserving in it a true and healthful relation to the social whole. There is a striking contrast between the well-ordered home and the school in this particular. The home does not lay upon the children duties and responsibilities that are different from the social life in which it participates. The children have in the home the same motives for right doing and are judged by standards similar to those which prevail in the wider adult society. "Interest in community welfare, an interest that is intellectual and practical as well as emotional,—an interest, that is to say, in perceiving whatever makes for social order and progress, and in carrying these principles into execution,—is the moral habit to which all the special school habits (as the special family habits) must be related if they are to be animated by the breath of life." [1]

[1] J. Dewey, *Moral Principles in Education*, 1910.

In a preceding section we have seen that the specific teaching of the school may be rendered more effective by a recognition of the social quality of these functions. This increased effectiveness will contribute to the moral as well as to the intellectual side. Enlightened methods of socialized instruction will be far more productive of genuine moral growth than any formal instruction in the principles of right doing. Moral character is more than a set of ideas, it is much more the whole attitude of life with its subtle complex of habits gradually built up through the method and spirit in which countless little things have been done. We thus see that every phase of school activity, including that of the mental teaching, has its moral possibilities. For instance, compare the different moral consequences of emphasizing "construction and giving out rather than absorption and mere learning." The latter method is essentially individualistic and inevitably, though unconsciously, shapes the child's point of view and determines his future modes of action. "Imagine fourth-grade children all engaged in reading the same books, and in preparing and reciting the same lessons day after day. Suppose this process constitutes by far the larger part of their work, and that they are continually judged from the standpoint of what they are able to take in in a study hour and reproduce in a recitation. There is no opportunity for any social division of labor. There is no opportunity for each child to work out something specifically his own, which he may contribute to the common stock, while he in turn participates in the productions of others. All are set to do exactly the same work and turn out the same products. . . . One reason why reading aloud in school is poor is that the real motive for the use of language — the desire to communicate and to learn — is not realized. The child knows perfectly well that the teacher and all his fellow pupils have exactly the same facts and ideas before them that he has; he is not giving them anything at all. And it may be questioned whether the moral lack is not as great as the intellectual."

Moreover, prevailing methods of instruction not only fail to cultivate the social spirit, they inculcate motives that are positively individualistic. The teacher seeks to hold the child to his studies, not through his social interest, but through his personal regard for the teacher, to please him, to retain his esteem, or even fear for the dis-

approbation of the teacher which may become morbid and paralyzing. Likewise, emulation and rivalry are appealed to, and the child is constantly encouraged to judge of his success not by his own individual and unique contributions, but by comparing himself with his mates. In this way a demoralizing external standard is substituted for the intrinsic one of love for the thing itself as well as for its social meaning. He glories not in his own powers, but in their supposed superiority to some one else. As Professor Dewey says, the child is thus "launched prematurely into the regions of individualistic competition, and this in a direction where competition is least applicable; namely, in intellectual and artistic matters, whose law is coöperation and participation."

There is another aspect of school method or rather of characteristic school emphasis which tends to weaken rather than to build up a sound moral attitude; that is, the frequent reference to a remote future to justify present tasks. There is no sufficient immediate motive for doing this or that thing. What difference does it make if one does not do his best just now? Why not put off till to-morrow some of the duties assigned for to-day? It can make no special difference; the goal is so far away that the matter of an hour or two or a day or two will not appreciably affect one's final attainment. How different are the pupil's attitudes if he feels that what he does has *present* value, immediate and tangible consequences! Reeder well says, "when I have attempted to attain certain definite results with children and failed, I have rarely found the chief cause to be in the children. It generally means that the motive or attainment has not been adequate. The goal was too remote, appreciation of its value too slight, or there was lack of personal touch and inspiration, so that whatever was necessary to energize the full capacity of the child was wanting. The remedy would naturally be to quicken the interest in the end sought." He goes on to tell how, when they moved into their new cottage homes some years ago, a serious problem presented itself with reference to preventing reckless breakage of the china with which each house was furnished. The children were expected to do all the work which involved handling the china, but they seemed to have no conscience whatever about doing it carefully. While fining them for breakage acted as a slight deterrent, it did not go far enough. Then a social as over

against an individual motive was devised. "We fixed a maximum as a standard of reasonable care. If the breakage exceeded this allowance, the excess was replaced with plain agate ware. This new feature touched the strongest asset in the cottage system; namely, cottage pride. By carelessness on the part of those children who served in the pantry and dining room, a cottage might lose all its beautiful china. Three of them did lose a fourth of their table ware before they became thoroughly aroused. But the effect was salutary. By the end of the first six months the total amount of breakage was reduced fifty per cent, in some cottages seventy-five per cent. . . . For the past three six-month periods the average breakage per cottage has been less than one piece per week. . . . It is no uncommon thing for a child to serve six months in dining room or pantry without a breakage. . . ." As the author says, this experiment in motivation is typical in character. To fine a child for his carelessness was purely an individual matter. No one suffered but the one who paid the fine. But under the scheme the carelessness "reflected upon the social and moral standing of the whole cottage group. Breaking china became no longer merely an individual mishap; it was a social offense. The unfortunate child that tripped up and smashed a half dozen saucers stirred up the whole cottage group," who felt the disgrace of being thus forced to use agate ware upon their table.[1]

Here was a situation in which care had decided present value. The future value of habits of carefulness would have furnished no adequate motive to the children for being circumspect in the present. The thing was worth doing not as a preparation for adult life but because to omit it meant individual loss and stern social disapproval of one's peers then and there. As Dewey says: "Who can reckon up the loss of moral power that arises from the constant impression that nothing is worth doing in itself, but only as a preparation for something else — for some genuinely serious end beyond." In the case of future values also the motive is largely egoistic, as far as it goes, rather than social. Whatever be the future values of the things studied, there should always be for the learner at least a little present social justification for the task. Whenever the active impulses are appealed to, wherever the pupil finds for himself the joy of discovery, of making,

[1] Reeder, *op. cit.*, pp. 184–187.

of producing something, rather than merely demonstrating his superior absorbing power, his mind is opened for reciprocity, for cooperation and for personal achievement that is social and hence morally uplifting.

One aspect of the social basis of moral training we have not as yet considered, — it is that which grows out of the personal touch with teachers or adults generally. The relation of teacher to child can never be purely formal; there is always the personal element and this as we have seen in the chapter on "personality" is always a social factor. Even in the most formal moral instruction, which, taken by itself, has little value, there is always added thereto the positive or negative influence of the teacher as a person in the child's social environment. Hence instruction in morals through telling of stories or discussing simple ethical principles is a social process and the interaction of child and teacher must be included among the social bases of moral training. This interaction is, of course, much more widely extended than actual class teaching. It is as inclusive as is the life of the school itself.

The moral values of personal touch also vary widely; in the case of some teachers the influence may, of course, be altogether negative; from this as a lower limit it may range upward in almost limitless degree. "One of the most potent of all incentives in child life is the example and influence of older people whom the child respects and admires. Example and imitation always outrun instruction; thus this personal touch of older and wiser but genial and companionable people is the greatest need in child life everywhere. (Children may) become inexpressibly lonely, although constantly in a crowd of children. To suppose that about all children need to make them happy are playthings and other children to play with, is a great mistake. They weary of one another much sooner than of older people. In fact, if the older associates are interesting and companionable, their company is preferred to that of children. . . . It is seldom that children in their own homes receive that sympathy and coöperation from older people in either work or play for which they deeply yearn." [1]

"The best that has come to parents and teachers through heredity, education and experience can be passed on to their children, not by formal instruction, but through comradeship and intimate association

[1] Reeder, pp. 188–189.

with them in all of the relations and interests which enlarge and enrich home life. . . . Wise parents will enter into the games and pastimes of their children, will swim and skate and coast with them, will read and stroll and play games with them, will plan and build and sympathize with them in their struggles, in their failures, and in the training of their pets." [1]

It is in this daily sympathetic, communicative contact of the child with healthy minded, vigorous manhood and womanhood that some of the truest, most effective moral training occurs. At least is it indispensable that in the general social atmosphere of the home and of the school this should be included as one of the most important elements.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. The relation between formal moral training and a social atmosphere favorable to the development of good morals.
2. Can one go without the other? What illustrations of Reeder's show the need of both sides?
3. Can you give others? Give several illustrations of your own of the way in which public sentiment will control an individual.
4. Can a person become moral by mere imitation? Which should be prior, the practical experience which the teacher may call the child's attention to as having a moral significance, or the moral precept itself which the child may later apply as he sees the need?
5. Give practical illustrations of the evil consequences of the teacher's having as her predominant attitude that of watching for offenses.
6. Why is expectation of good conduct psychologically sounder?

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